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ABSTRACT

These books offer primary source readings focusing on significant eras of world history and the pivotal role of the Middle East. Each "crossroad" examines a particular juncture in world history through the cultural and economic crosscurrents that existed at the time. The eras identified include: (1) "The Medieval Period"; (2) "The Pre-Colonial Period"; (3) "The Colonial Period"; and (4) "The Modern Period." Introductory essays for the teacher include: (1) "The Crusading Era" (Jill N. Claster); (2) "The Dynamics of Cultural Encounters" (Lila Abu-Lughod); (3) "The Colonial Period" (Zachary Lockman); and (4) "The Muslim Middle East: Cultural Crossroads" (Mona Mikhail). Teaching methodology is offered with various teaching insights and strategies. Additional teacher readings are titled: (1) "Islam: Stereotypes Still Prevail"; (2) "Early Islamic Civilization in Global Perspective"; (3) "The Crescent Obscured"; (4) "Mathematics and Astronomy"; (5) "Tamburlaine the Great"; (6) "Samarkand"; and (7) "Arab Noise and Ramadan Nights: Rai, Rap and Franco-Maghrebi Identities." (EH)

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Spotlight on
The Muslim Middle East
Crossroads

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A Student Reader

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Spotlight on
The Muslim Middle East
Crossroads

A Student Reader

Edited by
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Marni Penn

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The American Forum for Global Education

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Crossroads
The Medieval Period

Students studying the medieval period (c. 950 C.E. - 1300 C.E.) will be aware, typically, of the crusader battles pitting Christian knights from Europe against the Saracen infidel from Palestine. In our effort to broaden the understanding of the numerous social, economic, political and religious forces which contributed to the Middle East's being a crossroads at this particular juncture in history, we have compiled important primary sources concerned with the crusader movement and local responses to it. We have also included readings which reflect the cultural and economic crosscurrents that existed both as a result of, and without regard to, the military campaigns.

The first three readings (I through III) are intended to allow the students to consider the purpose of the Crusades and the nature of Europe's interaction with the "infidel east" prior to the first call.

I. The Speech of Urban II at the Council of Clermont, November 27, 1095: First Call to the Crusade

(*Great Problems in European Civilization*, edited by Kenneth M Setton and Henry R. Winkler, Prentice Hall, 1966, pp.24-30, Reprinted by permission.) (The translation used is August Krey's, "The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eye-Witnesses and participants," Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1921 Permission pending))

As Reported By Robert The Monk

"O race of Franks, race from across the mountains, race chosen and beloved by God set apart from all nations by the situation of your country, as well as by your Catholic faith and the honor of the Holy Church! To you our discourse is addressed, and for you our exhortation is intended. We wish you to know what a grievous cause has led us to your country, what peril, threatening you and all the faithful, has brought us.

"From the confines of Jerusalem and the city of Constantinople a horrible tale has gone forth and very frequently has been brought to our ears; namely, that a race from the kingdom of the Persians, an accursed race, a race utterly alienated from God, a generation which has neither directed its heart nor entrusted its spirit to God, has invaded the lands of those Christians and has depopulated them by the sword, pillage, and fire; it has led away a part of the captives into its own country, and a part it has destroyed by cruel tortures; it has either entirely destroyed the churches of God or appropriated them for the rites of its own religion. They destroy the altars, after having defiled them with their uncleanness. They circumsize the Christians, and the blood of the circumcision they either spread upon the altars or pour into the vases of the baptismal font. The kingdom of the Greeks is now dismembered by them and deprived of territory so vast in extent that it cannot be traversed in a march of two months. On whom, therefore, is the task of avenging these wrongs and of recovering this territory incumbent, if not upon you? You, upon whom above other nations God has conferred remarkable glory in arms, great courage, bodily energy, and the strength to humble the hairy scalp of those who resist you.

"Let the deeds of your ancestors move you and incite your minds to manly achievements; likewise, the glory and greatness of King Charles the Great, and his son Louis, and of your other kings, who have destroyed the kingdoms of the pagans, and have extended in these lands the territory of the Holy Church. Let the Holy Sepulchre of the Lord, our Saviour, which is possessed by unclean nations, especially move you, and likewise the holy places, which are now treated with ignominy and irreverently polluted with filthiness. Oh, most valiant soldiers and descendants of invincible ancestors, be not degenerate, but recall the valor of your forefathers!

"However, if you are hindered by love of children, parents, and wives, remember what the Lord says in the Gospel, 'He that loveth father, or mother more than me, is not worthy of me.' 'Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake shall receive an hundred-fold and shall inherit everlasting life.' Let none of your possessions detain you, no solicitude for your family affairs, since the land which you inhabit, shut in on all sides by the sea and surrounded by mountain peaks, is too narrow for your large population; nor does it abound in wealth; and it furnishes scarcely food enough for its cultivators. Hence it is that you murder and devour one another, that you wage war, and that frequently you perish by mutual wounds. Let therefore hatred depart from among you, let your quarrels end, let wars cease, and let all dissensions and controversies slumber. Enter upon the road to the Holy Sepulchre; wrest that land from the wicked race, and subject it to yourselves. That land which, as the Scripture says, 'floweth with milk and honey' and was given by God into the possession of the children of Israel.

"Jerusalem is the navel of the world; the land is fruitful above others, like another paradise of delights. This the Redeemer of the human race has made illustrious by His advent, has beautified by His presence, has consecrated by suffering, has redeemed by death, has glorified by burial. This royal city, therefore, situated at the center of the world, is now held captive by His enemies, and is in subjection to those who do not know God, to the worship of the heathen.

Therefore, she seeks and desires to be liberated and does not cease to implore you to come to her aid. From you, especially, she asks succor, because, as we have already said, God has conferred upon you, above all nations, great glory in arms. Accordingly, undertake this journey for the remission of your sins, with the assurance of the imperishable glory of the kingdom of heaven."

When Pope Urban had said these and very many similar things in his urbane discourse, he so influenced to one purpose the desires of all who were present that they cried out, "God wills it! God wills it!" When the venerable Roman pontiff heard that, with eyes uplifted to heaven he gave thanks to God and, with his hand commanding silence, said:

"Most beloved brethren, today is manifest in you what the Lord says in the Gospel, 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them.' Unless the Lord God had been present in your minds, all of you would not have uttered the same cry. For, although the cry issued from numerous mouths, yet the origin of the cry was one. Therefore I say to you that God, who implanted this in your breasts, has drawn it forth from you. Let this then be your battle-cry in combat, because this word is given to you by God. When an armed attack is made upon the enemy, let this one cry be raised by all soldiers of God: 'God wills it! God wills it!'

"And we do not command or advise that the old, or the feeble, or those unfit for bearing arms, undertake this journey; nor ought women to set out at all without their husbands, or brothers, or legal guardians. For such are more of a hindrance than aid, more of a burden than an advantage. Let the rich aid the needy; and, according to their means, let them take with them experienced soldiers. The priests and clerks of any order are not to go without the consent of their bishops; for this journey would profit them nothing if they went without such permission. Also, it is not fitting that laymen should enter upon the pilgrimage without the blessing of their priests.

"Whoever, therefore, shall determine upon this holy pilgrimage and shall make his vow to God to that effect and shall offer himself to Him as a living sacrifice, holy, acceptably unto God, shall wear the sign of the cross of the Lord on his forehead, or on his breast. When, having truly fulfilled his vow, he wishes to return, let him place the cross on his back between his shoulders. Such, indeed, by two-fold action will fulfil the precept of the Lord, as He commands in the Gospel, 'He that doth not take his cross and follow after me, is not worthy of me.'"

II. William of Tyre on the Crusades

(F.E. Peters: *Jerusalem* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985, pp.268-269, 272-275, 288-290, Reprinted by permission.)

William of Tyre (d.1190 C.E.) was born in the Middle East, studied in Europe and became archdeacon of Tyre, a high ranking church official, in 1167. In 1170 he became tutor to future Crusader King Baldwin IV. He wrote his history on the Crusades between 1169 and 1193.

In his introduction to William of Tyre's commentary, Professor Peters writes: The destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher did not bring on the Crusade. It figures in William of Tyre's analysis, but chiefly, one suspects, because he not only enjoyed the historian's hindsight but was exceedingly well informed on what had happened in the Holy Land prior to the coming of the Latins; the event is unmarked, on the other hand, in our preserved accounts of the pre-Crusade preaching and rhetoric in Europe. But even William does not give al-Hakim's [Islamic ruler from Egypt who ordered the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher] act undue prominence. This, for example, is his summing up of the events that led to the Crusade:

Thus neither at home nor abroad was there any rest for the [Christian] citizens [of Jerusalem]. Death threatened them every day and, what was worse than death, the fear of servitude, harsh and intolerable, ever lowered before them. Another thing caused them extreme distress. Even while they were in the very act of celebrating the holy rites, the enemy would violently force an entrance into the churches which had been restored and preserved with such infinite difficulty. Utterly without reverence for the consecrated places, they sat upon the very altars and struck terror to the heart of the worshipers with their mad cries and whistlings. They overturned the chalices, trod underfoot the utensils devoted to the divine offices, broke the marble statues and showered blows and insults upon the clergy. The Lord Patriarch then in office was dragged from his seat by hair and beard and thrown to the ground like a mean and abject person. Again and again he was seized and thrust into prison without cause. Treatment fit only for the lowest slave was inflicted upon him in order to torture his people, who suffered with him as with a father....

For 490 years, as has been stated, this devoted people of God endured cruel bondage with pious long-suffering. With tearful groans and sighs, ever constant in prayer, they cried to God, begging that he would spare them now that their sins were corrected and that, in His great mercy, He would turn away from them the source of His wrath....Finally, the Lord looked with pity upon them from His seat of glory, and desiring to end such tribulation, determined with fatherly care to comfort them as they desired. In the present work it is our intention to set down, as a perpetual memorial to the faithful Christ, the method of ordering of this divine plan by which He proposed to relieve the long-continued affliction of His people.

III. The Origins of the Hospital

(F.E. Peters: Jerusalem Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985. pp.268-269, 272-275, 288-290, Reprinted by permission)

It was not merely the Byzantines who were conducting trade in and with the East; there were Europeans involved there as well, and they too expressed an interest in Jerusalem, according to William of Tyre.

Although the holy places were thus under the power of the enemy [Saracens], from time to time many people from the West visited them for the sake of devotion or business, possibly for both. Among those from the West who ventured at that time to go to the holy places for purposes of trade were certain men from Italy who were known as Amalfitani from the name of their city....The people of Amalfi...were the first who, for the sake of gain, attempted to carry to the Orient foreign wares hitherto unknown to the East. Because of the necessary articles which they brought thither, they obtained very advantageous terms from the principal men of those lands and were permitted to come there freely.....The Amalfitani enjoyed the full favor of the king [of Egypt] as well as of his nobles and were able to travel in perfect safety all over the country as traders and dealers in the useful articles which they carried. Faithful to the traditions of their fathers and the Christian profession, these merchants were in the habit of visiting the holy places whenever opportunity offered. They had no house of their own in Jerusalem, however, where they might remain for a while, as they had in the coast cities.

A written order was accordingly sent to the governor of Jerusalem, directing that a very ample area of Jerusalem, in that part of the city occupied by Christians, be designated at their request for the people of Amalfi, friends and carriers of useful articles. There they were to erect such a building as they desired. The city was divided at that time, as it is today, into four almost equal parts; of these that quarter alone which contains the Sepulcher of the Lord had been granted to the faithful as their abode. The rest of the city, with the Temple of the Lord, was occupied exclusively by infidels.

In accordance with the caliph's command, a place sufficiently large for the necessary buildings was set aside for the people of Amalfi. Offerings of money were collected from the merchants, and before the door of the church of the Resurrection of the Lord, barely a stone's throw away, they built a monastery in honor of the holy and glorious mother of God, the Ever Virgin Mary. In connection with this there were suitable offices for the use of the monks and for the entertainment of guests from their own city. When the place was finished, they brought an abbot and monks from Amalfi and established the monastery under a regular rule as a place of holy life acceptable to the Lord. Since those who had founded the place and maintained it in religion were men of the Latin race, it has been called from that time to this the monastery of the Latins.

Even in those days it happened that chaste and holy widows came to Jerusalem to kiss the revered places. Regardless of natural timidity, they had met without fear the numberless dangers of the way. Since there was no place within the portals of the monastery where such pilgrims might be honorably received, the same pious men who had founded the monastery made a suitable provision for these people also, that when devout women came they might not lack a chapel, a house, and separate quarters of their own. A little convent was finally established there, by divine mercy, in honor of that pious sinner, Mary Magdalen, and a regular number of sisters placed there to minister to women pilgrims.

During these same perilous times there also flocked thither people of other nations, both nobles and those of the middle class. As there was no approach to the Holy City except through hostile lands, pilgrims had usually exhausted their travelling money by the time they reached Jerusalem. Wretched and helpless, a prey to all the hardships of hunger, thirst, and nakedness, such pilgrims were forced to wait before the city gates until they had paid a gold coin, when they were permitted to enter the city. Even after they had finally gained admission and had visited the holy places one after another, they had no means of resting even for a single day, except as it was offered in fraternal spirit by the brothers of the monastery. All the other dwellers in Jerusalem were Saracens and infidels with the exception of the patriarch, the clergy, and the miserable Syrian people. These latter were so overburdened by daily exactions of manifold corvées and extra services, and by work of the most menial nature, that they could scarcely breathe. They lived in the direst poverty and in continual fear of death.

Since there was no one to offer shelter to the wretched pilgrims of our faith, thus afflicted and needy to the last degree, the holy men who dwelt in the monastery of the Latins in pity took from their own means and, within the space allotted to them, built a hospital for the relief of such pilgrims. There they received these people, whether sick or well, lest they be found strangled by night on the streets. In addition to offering shelter in the hospital, they arranged that the fragments remaining from the food supplies of the two monasteries, namely of the monks and the nuns, should be spared for the daily sustenance of such people.

Furthermore, they erected in that place an altar in honor of St. John of Almoner. This venerable foundation which thus stretched out the hand of charity to its fellow men had neither revenues nor possessions; but each year the citizens of Amalfi, both those at home and those who followed the business of trading abroad, collected money from their own number as a voluntary offering. This they sent to the abbot of the hospital, whoever he might be at the time, by the hands of those who were going to Jerusalem. From this money food and shelter were provided for the brethren and the sisters and the remainder was used to extend assistance to the Christian pilgrims who came to the hospital.

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One might conclude from the rhetoric of Urban's call to arms and from the words of the Christian chronicle by William of Tyre that all Christians were of the same mind concerning the Crusaders and their mission. The following account from Anna Comnena, princess daughter of the Byzantine Christian Emperor Alexius I Comnenus, presents a different view:

Anna Comnena on the Crusade

(The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena, translation by Elizabeth A S Dawe, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1928. pp.248-2 permission pending.)

Before he had enjoyed even a short rest, he[the Emperor Alexius] heard a report of the approach of innumerable Frankish armies. Now he dreaded their arrival for he knew their irresistible manner of attack, their unstable and mobile character and all the peculiar natural and concomitant characteristics which the Frank retains throughout; and he also knew that they were always agape for money, and seemed to disregard their truces readily for any reason that cropped up. For he had always heard this reported of them, and found it very true. However, he did not lose heart, but prepared himself in every way so that, when the occasion called, he would be ready for battle. And indeed the actual facts were far greater and more terrible than rumor made them. For the whole of the West and all the barbarian tribes which dwell between the further side of the Adriatic and the pillars of Heracles, had all migrated in a body and were marching into Asia through the intervening Europe, and were making the journey with all their household. The reason of this upheaval was more or less the following. A certain Frank, Peter by name, nicknamed Cucupeter, had gone to worship at the Holy Sepulcher and after suffering many things at the hands of the Turks and Saracens who were ravaging Asia, he got back to his own country with difficulty. But he was angry at having failed in his object, and wanted to undertake the same journey again. However, he saw that he ought not to make the journey to the Holy Sepulcher alone again, lest worse things befall him, so he worked out a cunning plan. This was to preach in all the Latin countries that "the voice of God bids me announce to all the counts in France that they should all leave their homes and set out to worship at the Holy Sepulcher, and to endeavor whole-heartedly with hand and mind to deliver Jerusalem from the hand of the Hagarenes [another name for Muslims]" And he really succeeded. For after inspiring the souls of all with his quasi-divine command he contrived to assemble the Franks from all sides, one after the other, with arms, horses and all the other paraphernalia of war. And they were all so zealous and eager that every highroad was full of them. And those Frankish soldiers were accompanied by an unarmed host more numerous than the sand or the stars, carrying palms and crosses on their shoulders; women and children, too, came away from their countries. And the sight of them was like many rivers streaming from all sides, and they were advancing towards us through Dacia generally with all their hosts....

The incidents of the barbarians' approach followed in the order I have described, and persons of intelligence could feel that they were witnessing a strange occurrence. The arrival of these multitudes did not take place at the same time nor by the same road (for how indeed could such masses starting from different places have crossed the straits of Lombardy all together?) Some first, some next, others after them and thus successively all accomplished the transit, and then marched through the continent. Each army was preceded, as we said, by an unspeakable number of locusts; and all who saw this more than once recognized them as forerunners of the Frankish armies. When the first of them began crossing the straits of Lombardy sporadically the Emperor summoned certain leaders of the Roman forces, and sent them to the ports of Dyrrachium and Valona with instructions to offer a courteous welcome to the Franks who had crossed, and to collect abundant supplies from all the countries along their route; then to follow and watch them covertly all the time, and if they saw them making any foraging-excursions, they were to come out from under cover and check them by light skirmishing. These captains were accompanied by some men who knew the Latin tongue, so that they might settle any disputes that arose between them.

Let me, however, give an account of this subject more clearly and in due order. According to universal rumor Godfrey, who had sold his country, was the first to start on the appointed road; this man was very rich and very proud of his bravery, courage and conspicuous lineage; for every Frank is anxious to outdo the others. And such an upheaval of both men and women took place then as ha never occurred within human memory, the simpler-minded were urged on by the real desire of worshiping at our Lord's Sepulcher, and visiting the sacred places; but the more astute, especially men like Bohemund and those of like mind, had another secret reason, namely, the hope that while on their travels they might by some means be able to seize the capital itself, looking upon this as a kind of corollary. And Bohemund disturbed the minds of many nobler men by thus cherishing his old grudge against the Emperor. Meanwhile Peter, after he had delivered his message, crossed the straits of Lombardy before anybody else with eighty thousand men on foot, and one hundred thousand on horseback, and reached the capital by way of Hungary. For the Frankish race, as one may conjecture, is always very hot-headed and eager, but when once it has espoused a cause, it is uncontrollable.

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Eventually, the invading Crusaders were successful in taking Jerusalem. The manner of its taking and the view of the same is clearly in the eyes of the beholder. Following are three distinct points of view regarding these events.

I. Fulcher of Chartres

(F.E. Peters: *Jerusalem* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985, pp.268-269, 272-275, 288-290, Reprinted by permission.)

Fulcher of Chartres (1058-1127) took part in the First Crusade as chaplain to Baldwin of Boulogne (eventual king of Jerusalem). These excerpts are from his eyewitness accounts of the First Crusade:

After this great slaughter [destruction of Jerusalem] they [the Crusaders] entered the houses of the citizens, seizing whatever they found there. This was done in such a way that whoever first entered a house, whether he was rich or poor, was not challenged by any other Frank. He was to occupy and own the house or palace and whatever he found in it as if it were entirely his own. In this way many poor people became wealthy. Then the clergy and the laity, going to the Lord's Sepulcher and His most glorious Temple, singing a new canticle to the Lord in a resounding voice of exaltation, and making offerings and most humble supplications, joyously visited the holy places as they had long desired to do so.

Jerusalem fell to the Frankish forces on July 15, 1099, but when Fulcher returned to the city at Christmas of the same year, the signs of the massacre were still everywhere around the city:

Oh what a stench there was around the walls of the city, both within and without, from the rotting bodies of the Saracens slain by our comrades at the time of the capture of the city, lying wherever they had been hunted down!

II. The Franks Conquer Jerusalem

(Ibn al-Athir, x, 193-95. Arab Chronicler of Crusader era)
(Francesco Gabrielli: *Arab Historians and the Crusades* New York: Dorset Press, Translated from the Italian by E.J. Costello, 1969 pp.10-11, 74-76, 76-77, 77-78, 80-82, 78-79, 83-84, 87-93, 214-215, permission pending.)

When the Franks defeated the Turks at Antioch the massacre demoralized them, and the Egyptians, who saw that the Turkish armies were being weakened by desertion, besieged Jerusalem. The Egyptians brought more than forty siege engines to attack Jerusalem and broke down the walls at several points. The inhabitants put up a defence, and the siege and fighting went on for more than six weeks. In the end the Egyptians forced the city to capitulate, in sha'ban 489/August 1096. The Turkish leaders and their friends were well treated by the Egyptian general, who gave them large gifts of money and let them go free. They made for Damascus and then crossed the Euphrates. Suqman settled Edessa and Ilghazi went on into Iraq.

After their vain attempt to take Acre by siege, the Franks moved on to Jerusalem and besieged it for more than six weeks. They built two towers, one of which, near Sion, the Muslims burnt down, killing everyone inside it. It had scarcely ceased to burn down before a messenger arrived to ask for help and to bring the news that the other side of the city had fallen. In fact Jerusalem was taken from the north on the morning of Friday 22 Sha'ban 492/15 July 1099. The population was put to the sword by the Franks, who pillaged the area for a week. A band of Muslims barricaded themselves into the Oratory of David and fought on for several days. They were granted their lives in return for surrendering. The Franks honoured their word, and the group left by night for Ascalon. In the Masjid al-Aqsa (the Jerusalem Mosque built by the Umayyads, considered a holy site to all of Islam) the Franks slaughtered more than 70,000 people, among them a large number of Imams and Muslim scholars, devout and ascetic men who had left their homelands to live lives of pious seclusion in the Holy Place. The Franks stripped the Dome of the Rock (the third holiest site in Islamic tradition, this is an Islamic shrine built over the rock which it is said Muhammed ascended into Heaven. It is also said to be the location of the "holy of Holies" in Jewish tradition, making it sacred to the Jews as well) of more than forty silver candelabra, each of them weighing 3,600 drams, and a great silver lamp weighing forty-four Syrian pounds, as well as a hundred and fifty smaller silver candelabra and more than twenty gold ones, and a great deal more booty. Refugees from Syria reached Baghdad in Ramadan [a holy period in Islamic tradition wherein Muslims are requied to fast from sunup to sundown], among them the qadi Abu Sa'd al-Harawi. They told the Caliph's ministers a story that wrung their hearts and brought tears to their eyes. On Friday they went to the Cathedral Mosque and begged for help, weeping so that their hearts wept with them as they described the sufferings of the Muslims in that Holy City: the men killed, the women and children taken prisoner, the homes pillaged. Because of the terrible hardships they had suffered, they were allowed to break the fast.

III. The Jews and the Fall of Jerusalem

(F.E. Peters: *Jerusalem* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985, pp.268-269, 272-275, 288-290, Reprinted by permission.)

It is clear from all the accounts we possess that the Muslim population of Jerusalem either fled the city, were captured and sold into slavery, or were simply slaughtered where they stood and fought. What was less certain was the fate of the Jewish population. The Jewish family chronicles and "scrolls" of the time did concern themselves with the events of the world outside the Jewish community, but oddly, they make no mention of either the fall of Jerusalem or what happened to the Jews who lived there at the time. A report from a Muslim historian, suggests that the Jews too were massacred by the Franks, down to the last woman and

child. At least some of the Latin sources indicate that the Jews were treated somewhat differently from the Muslims: they were set to cleaning up the Temple mount and then either sold into slavery or deported.

Now, however, we possess accounts from contemporary Jews. Among the many letters preserved in the Cairo Geniza[1] is one written in the summer of 1100 attempting to raise money among the Jews of Cairo to defray the expenses borne by the community in Ascalon in connection with the fall of Jerusalem. It was they who had to feed and succor the refugees who had managed to escape the city and to ransom not only the Jewish captives but even the sacred books looted by the Crusaders from the Jerusalem synagogues.

A second letter was written at about the same time from Egypt back to Spain or North Africa by an elderly Jewish pilgrim who had earlier set out for Jerusalem but had been overtaken, and forestalled, by events:

In Your name, You, Merciful.

If I attempted to describe my longing for you, my Lord, my brother and cousin -- may God prolong your days and make permanent your honor, success, happiness, health, and welfare; and...subdue your enemies -- all the paper in the world would not suffice....

You may remember, my Lord, that many years ago I left our country to seek God's mercy and help in my poverty, to behold Jerusalem and return thereupon. However, when I was in Alexandria, God brought about circumstances which caused a slight delay. Afterwards, however, "the sea grew stormy," and many armed bands made their appearance in Palestine; "and he who went forth and he who came had no peace," so that hardly one survivor out of a whole group came back to us from Palestine and told us that scarcely anyone could save himself from those armed bands, since they were so numerous and were gathered round...every town. There was further the journey through the desert, among [the bedouin], and whoever escaped from one, fell into the hands of the other. Moreover, mutinies [spread throughout the country and reached] even Alexandria, so that we ourselves were besieged several times and the city was ruined; ...the end, however, was good, for the sultan [al-Afdal] -- may God bestow glory upon his victories -- conquered the city and caused justice to abound in it in a manner unprecedented in the history of any king in the world; not even a dirham was looted from anyone. Thus I had come to hope that because of his justice and strength God would give the land into his hands, and I should thereupon go to Jerusalem in safety and tranquility. For this reason I proceeded from Alexandria to Cairo, in order to start my journey from there.

When, however, God had given Jerusalem, the blessed, into his hands, this state of affairs continued for too short a time to allow for making a journey there. The Franks arrived and killed everybody in the city, whether of Ishmael or of Israel; and the few who survived the slaughter were made prisoners. Some of those have been ransomed since, while others are still in captivity in all parts of the world.

Now, all of us had anticipated that our sultan -- may God bestow glory upon his victories -- would set out against them [the Franks] with his troops and chase them away. But time after time our hope failed. Yet, to this very present moment we do hope that God will give his [the sultan's] enemies into his hands. For it is inevitable that the armies will join in battle this year [1100]; and, if God grants us victory through him [the sultan] and he conquers Jerusalem -- and so may it be with God's will -- I for one shall not be among those who linger, but shall go there to behold the city; and shall afterwards return straight to you -- if God wills it. My salvation is in God, for this [is unlike] the other previous occasions [of making pilgrimage to Jerusalem]. God indeed will exonerate me, since at my age I cannot afford to delay and wait any longer. I want to return home under any circumstances, if I still remain alive -- whether I shall have seen Jerusalem or have given up hope of doing it -- both of which are possible.

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As the crusaders settled into their "Crusader Kingdoms" and became a fixture in the social and political milieu, they became the subjects of Arab observation. These excerpts (I through V) from an Arabic chronicle of the period demonstrates the results of certain interactions. The writer is Usama ibn Munqidh (1095-1188), a writer, diplomat, politician, and friend to the most powerful leaders of the time and period, including Saladin.

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[1] Geniza derives from the Jewish tradition and is a repository for religious documents to prevent them from being defiled through a normal disposal process. During the medieval period, due to the lack of available paper for writing, any document would be frequently used and reused. This would have included letters of the type included herein which may have been originally used as a religious document. Even one of these letters, invoking the name of God, could be regarded as a document which should be protected from desecration.

The Cairo Geniza refers to such a repository of documents which was utilized from the tenth through the twelfth centuries by the Jewish community in Cairo. The treasures of the Cairo Geniza have been brought to light during the twentieth century and have provided historians invaluable insights into the social and economic history of the period in which this particular Geniza was in use.

All five selections are from: **Francesco Gabrielli: *Arab Historians and the Crusades* New York: Dorset Press, Translated from the Italian by E.J. Costello, 1969, permission pending.**

I. Frankish Piracy

I entered the service of the just King Nur ad Din -- God have mercy on him! -- and he wrote to al-Malik as-Salih asking him to send my household and my sons out to me; they were in Egypt, under his patronage. Al-Malik as-Salih wrote back that he was unable to comply because he feared that they might fall into Frankish hands. He invited me instead to return to Egypt myself. 'You know,' he wrote, 'how strong the friendship is between us. If you have reason to mistrust the Palace, you could go to Mecca, and I would send you the appointment to the governorship of Aswan and the means to combat the Abyssinians. Aswan is on the frontier of the Islamic empire. I would send your household and your sons to you there.' I spoke to Nur ad-Din about this, and asked his advice, which was that he would certainly not choose to return to Egypt once he had extricated himself. 'Life is too short!' he said. 'It would be better if I sent to the Frankish King for a safe-conduct for your family, and gave them an escort to bring them here safely.' This he did! -- God have mercy on him! -- and the Frankish King gave him his cross, which ensures the bearer's safety by land and sea. I sent it by a young slave of mine, together with letters to al-Malik as-Salih from Nur ad-Din and myself. My family were dispatched for Damietta on a ship of the vizier's private fleet, under his protection and provided with everything they might need.

They transferred to a Frankish ship and set sail, but when they neared Acre, where the Frankish King was -- God punish him for his sins -- he sent out a boatload of men to break up the ship with hatchets before the eyes of my family, while he rode down to the beach and claimed everything that came ashore as booty. My young slave swam ashore with the safe-conduct, and said: 'My Lord King, is not this your safe-conduct?' 'Indeed it is,' he replied, 'But surely it is a Muslim custom that when a ship is wrecked so close to land the local people pillage it?' 'So you are going to make us your captives?' 'Certainly not.' He had my family escorted to a house, and the women searched. Everything they had was taken; the ship had been loaded with women's trinkets, clothes, jewelry, sword and other arms, and gold and silver to the value of about 30,000 *dinar*. The King took it all, and then handed five hundred *dinar* back to them and said: 'Make your arrangements to continue your journey with this money.' And there were fifty of them altogether! At the time I was with Nur ad-Din in the realm of King Mas'ud, at Ru'ban and Kaisun; compared with the safety of my sons, my brother and our women, the loss of the rest meant little to me, except for my books. There had been 4,000 fine volumes on board, and their destruction had been a cruel loss to me for the rest of my life.

II. Frankish Medicine

A ruler wrote to my uncle asking him to send a doctor to treat some of his followers who were ill. My uncle sent a Christian called Thabit. After only ten days he returned and we said 'You cured them quickly!' This was his story: They took me to see a knight who had an abscess on his leg, and a woman with consumption. I applied a poultice to the leg, and the abscess opened and began to heal. I prescribed a cleansing and refreshing diet for the woman. Then there appeared a Frankish doctor, who said: 'This man has no idea how to cure these people!' He turned to the knight and said: 'Which would you prefer, to live with one leg or to die with two?' When the knight replied that he would prefer to live with one leg, he sent for a strong man and sharp axe. They arrived, and I stood by to watch. The doctor supported the leg on a block of wood, and said to the man: 'Strike a mighty blow, and cut cleanly!' And there, before my eyes, the fellow struck the knight one blow, and then another, for the first had not finished the job. The marrow spurted out of the leg, and the patient died instantaneously. Then the doctor examined the woman and said: 'She has a devil in her head who is in love with her. Cut her hair off!' This was done, and she went back to eating her usual Frankish food, garlic and mustard, which made her illness worse. 'The devil has got into her brain,' pronounced the doctor. He took a razor and cut across on her head, and removed the brain so that the inside of the skull was laid bare. This he rubbed with salt; the woman died instantly. At this juncture I asked whether they had any further need of me, and as they had none I came away, having learnt things about medical methods that I never knew before. *(note: Not all Frankish doctors were butchers like this fiend portrayed here, but the air of ironic superiority that this passage conveys was justified by the supremacy of the great medical tradition of the East at this time.)*

III. The Franks and Marital Jealousy

The Franks are without vestige of a sense of honour and jealousy. If one of them goes along the street with his wife and meets a friend, this man will take the woman's hand and lead her aside to talk, while the husband stands by waiting until she has finished her conversation. If she takes too long about it he leaves her with the other man and goes on his way. Here is an example of this from my personal experience: while I was in Nablus I stayed with a man called Mu'izz, whose house served as an inn for Muslim travellers. Its windows overlooked the street. On the other side of the road lived a Frank who sold wine for the merchants; he would take a bottle of wine from one of them and publicize it, announcing that such-and-such a merchant had just opened a hogshead of it, and could be found at

such-and-such a place by anyone wishing to buy some; '...and I will give him the first right to the wine in this bottle.'

Now this man returned home one day and found a man in bed with his wife. 'What are you doing here with my wife?' he demanded. 'I was tired,' replied the man, 'and so I came in to rest.' 'And how do you come to be in my bed?' 'I found the bed made up, and lay down to sleep.' 'And this woman slept with you, I suppose?' 'The bed,' he replied, 'is hers. How could I prevent her getting into her own bed?' 'I swear if you do it again I shall take you to court!' -- and this was his only reaction, the height of his outburst of jealousy!

IV. Orientalized Franks

There are some Franks who have settled in our land and taken to living like Muslims. These are better than those who have just arrived from their homelands, but they are the exception, and cannot be taken as typical. I came across one of them once when I sent a friend on business to Antioch, which was governed by Todros ibn al-Safi, a friend of mine. One day he said to my friend: 'A Frankish friend has invited me to visit him; come with me so that you can see how they live.' 'I went with him,' said my friend, 'and we came to the house of one of the old knights who came with the first expedition. This man had retired from the army, and was living on the income of the property he owned in Antioch. He had a fine table brought out, spread with a splendid selection of appetizing food. He saw that I was not eating, and said: 'Don't worry, please; eat what you like, for I don't eat Frankish food. I have Egyptian cooks and eat only what they serve. No pig's flesh ever comes into my house!' So I ate, although cautiously, and then we left. Another day, as I was passing through the market, a Frankish woman advanced on me, addressing me in her barbaric language with words I found incomprehensible. A crowd of Franks gathered round us and I gave myself up for lost, when suddenly this knight appeared, saw me and came up. 'What do you want with this man?' 'This man,' she replied, 'killed my brother Urso.' This Urso was a knight from Apamea who was killed by a soldier from Hamat. The old man scolded the woman. 'This man is a merchant, a city man, not a fighter, and he lives nowhere near where your brother was killed.' Then he turned on the crowd, which melted away, and shook hands with me. Thus the fact that I ate at his table saved my life.

V. Christian Piety and Muslim Piety

I paid a visit to the tomb of John the son of Zechariah -- God's blessing on both of them! -- in the village of Sebastea in the province of Nablus. After saying my prayers, I came out into the square that was bounded on one side by the Holy Precinct. I found a half-closed gate, opened it and entered a church. Inside were about ten old men, their bare heads as white as combed cotton. They were facing the east, and wore (embroidered?) on their breasts staves ending in crossbars turned up like the rear of a saddle. They took their oath on this sign, and gave hospitality to those who needed it. The sight of their piety touched my heart, but at the same time it displeased and saddened me, for I had never seen such zeal and devotion among the Muslims. For some time I brooded on this experience, until one day, as Mu'in ad-Din and I were passing the Peacock House, he said to me: 'I want to dismount here and visit the Old Men.' 'Certainly,' I replied, and we dismounted and went into a long building set at an angle to the road. For the moment I thought there was no one there. Then I saw about a hundred prayer-mats, and on each a sufi, his face expressing peaceful serenity, and his body humble devotion. This was a reassuring sight, and I gave thanks to Almighty God that there were among the Muslims men of even more zealous devotion than those Christian priests. Before this I had never seen sufis in their monastery, and was ignorant of the way they lived.

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Of course, the story of the Crusades does not end with the fall of Jerusalem. Eventually, the Muslims, under the leadership of Saladin, recapture this holy city. The following is Saladin's call to engagement to his own people and an Arab historian's glorified view of this leader.

Saladin's Summons To His People

(Francesco Gabrielli: *Arab Historians and the Crusades* New York: Dorset Press, Translated from the Italian by E.J. Costello, 1969, permission pending.)
(ABU SHAMA, Arab chronicler of the Crusader period))

'We hope in God most high, to whom be praise, who leads the hearts of Muslims to calm what torments them and ruins their prosperity. As long as the seas bring reinforcements to the enemy and the land does not drive them off, our country will continue to suffer at their hands, and our hearts to be troubled by the sickness caused by the harm they do us. Where is the sense of honour of the Muslims, the pride of the believers, the zeal of the faithful? We shall never cease to be amazed at how the Unbelievers, for their part, have shown trust, and it is the Muslims who have been lacking in zeal. Not one of them has responded to the call, not one intervenes to straighten what is distorted; but observe how far the Franks have gone; what unity they have achieved, what aims they pursue, what help they have given, what sums of money they have borrowed and spent, what wealth they have collected and distributed and divided among them! There is not a king left in their lands or islands, not a lord or a rich man who has not competed with his neighbors to produce more support, and rivaled his peers in strenuous military effort. In defence of their religion they

consider it a small thing to spend life and soul, and they have kept their infidel brothers supplied with arms and champions for the war. And all they have done, and all their generosity, has been done purely out of zeal for Him they worship, in jealous defence of their Faith. Every Frank feels that once we have reconquered the (Syrian) coast, and the veil of their honour is torn off and destroyed, this country will slip from their grasp, and our hand will reach out toward their own countries. The Muslims, on the other hand, are weakened and demoralized. They have become negligent and lazy, the victims of unproductive stupefaction and completely lacking in enthusiasm. If, God forbid, Islam should draw rein, obscure her splendour, blunt her sword, there would be no one, East or West, far or near, who would blaze with zeal for God's religion or choose to come to the aid of truth against error. This is the moment to cast off lethargy, to summon from far and near all those men who have blood in their veins. But we are confident, thanks be to God, in the help that will come from Him, and entrust ourselves to Him in sincerity of purpose and deepest devotion. God willing, the Unbelievers shall perish and the faithful have a sure deliverance.

Saladin's Character

(Francesco Gabrielli: *Arab Historians and the Crusades* New York: Dorset Press, Translated from the Italian by E.J. Costello, 1969, permission pending.) (Baha' ad-Din)

One of the authentic canonical traditions contains these words of the Prophet: 'Islam rests on five pillars: the statement that there is no God but God; prayer; the paying of the legal tithe; the fast of Ramadan; and the Pilgrimage to God's sacred House (at Mecca).' Now Saladin was a man of firm faith, one who often had God's name on his lips. He drew his faith from the evidence duly studied in the company of the most authoritative scholars and the greatest lawyers, acquiring sufficient competence to take his part in a theological discussion should one arise in his presence, although of course he did not adopt the technical language used by the specialists. The result of this was that his faith was free of any taint of heterodoxy, and speculation never led him into any theological error or heresy. His faith was firm, within the bounds of healthy speculation, and it had the approval of the highest authorities. The Imam Qutb ad-Din an-Nisaburi compiled for him a catechism containing all the essential elements of dogma, and he was so deeply attached to this that he taught it to all his little sons so that it should be impressed on their minds from earliest childhood. I myself have heard him instructing them and heard them repeat it before him.

As for the canonic prayers, he performed them assiduously, and used to pray in public; in fact one day he remarked that it was years since he had performed them any other way. When he was ill he would send for one Imam and would force himself to rise and pray with him. He was assiduous in his performance of the extra-canonic prayers; if he woke up during the night he would make two raka'at, and if not he would perform them before the morning prayer. He never omitted the canonic prayer except when he was at death's door in the last three days of his life, during which time he was unconscious. If the hour of prayer came round while he was traveling he would dismount from his horse and pray.

As for the legal alms-giving, he died without leaving a large enough estate to be subject to it, for his extra-canonic gifts had consumed all his wealth. Of all that he had been master of, he left in his treasury when he died forty-seven Nasirite drachmas and a single piece of Tyrian gold. Nor did he leave houses, estates, gardens, villages, fields or any other material possession.

As for Ramadan, there were Ramadans that he should have made up, because of illness at various times. The qadi al-Fadil kept an exact record of these days, which Saladin began to make up when he was at Jerusalem in the year of his death, preserving in the fast for more than the prescribed month. He had still two Ramadans to make up for, that illness and involvement in the Holy War had kept him from observing; fasting did not suit his temperament, and God inspired him to fast in that year to make good his omissions. In the absence of the qadi I kept count of the days on which he fasted. The doctor was not in favour of it, but Saladin would not listen to him. 'Anything might happen,' he said, as if he had inspired to pay his debt of conscience, and fasted long enough to discharge whatever he had owed to God.

As for the Pilgrimage, he had always wanted and intended to go, in particular in the year of his death. He made a decision to go then, and ordered the preparations to be made. We got together provisions for the journey and were ready to set out when lack of time and shortage of the money necessary to equip himself as became a man of his standing prevented his departure. He put it off until the next year, but God decreed otherwise, as often happens in the experience of men both great and small.

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Throughout this period of successive military campaigns, life in other parts of the Mediterranean region and the remainder of the world continued, to a certain extent, as always. There were trades to be made, family to visit and assuage, and letters to be written, as seen in these documents from the Geniza collection.

Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders

(Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders, Translated from the Arabic with Introductions and Notes by S.D. Goitein, Princeton University Press, 1973 pp.162-169, 196-201, 212-215, permission pending.)

A. Letter Number 33: From the Correspondence of Scholars

The writer of this letter was the Jewish chief judge of al-Mahdiyya. The judge, like a Muslim qadi, or the Christian patriarch of Alexandria, also engaged in business, and examples of the commercial correspondence between him and Nahray have been preserved. But this letter deals mainly, though not exclusively, with learned and legal matters. The scholar referred to in sections A-D with such epithets as "Light of the World" or "Renewer of the Religion" was R. Nissim b. Jacobs, one of the greatest rabbinical authorities of all times .

Our letter was written after 1057, the date of the ruin of Qayrawan, when R. Nissim and other inhabitants of that city had found refuse in Susa, a seaport on the Tunisian coast north of al-Mahdiyya. R. Nissim died in 1062. The reference to the Sicilian city whose male inhabitants were put to sword by the conquering Normans fits the fall of Messina in 1061.

- ***Nahray's Eye Disease***

In Your name.

I am writing to you, ...from al-Mahdiyya, at the end of Av (August), ...the situation is well in hand[2], thank God who dispenses all benefactions.

Your letters, my lord, ...worried, disquieted, and troubled me, and scared the sleep from my eyes, because of the eye disease which had attacked you. I ask God to take care of you and to heal you and to never let me hear anything sorrowful about you and to accept me as a ransom for you. *May he send his word and heal you, heal you completely. Amen. May thus be his will.*

I sent your letter to the [...], the Light of the World, and he wrote me how much he regretted to learn about your illness. He prayed for you, and I am confident his prayer will be accepted. I remained disquieted, however, until our friends arrived telling me that you were well and that your eyesight had been restored. But I shall not be completely quiet until I shall receive a letter from you to this effect. May God always let me have happy news from you.

- ***The Copying of R. Nissim's Works, interrupted by his illness***

I wish to inform you, my lord, ... that I asked a friend in Susa to buy parchment and to deliver it to a copyist. Unfortunately, they have only one copyist there, who also teaches children so that he can devote only part of his time to copying. He has already done sixteen quires, which have been compared with the original. The continuation had to be postponed because of what happened to our master, the great Rav.[3] He was almost given up, and the community was grieved and disturbed, for he is *our solace in our misery, and under his shadow we live among the nations.*[4] But God looked upon us and did not afflict us and blind our eyes. He remained weak for some time. But recently I received his illustrious letter in which he breaks the good news of his complete recuperation. We praised God that he looked upon us and did not disgrace us, for the life of the masters means progress for the nation, upholding of the Law, and renewal of the religion. I ask God to grant him life for us and for all the *communities* and accept us as a ransom from all evil destined for him.

- ***A Learned Letter of Nahray Lost***

The master had taken notice of your criticism of a legal opinion by *our master* Hay[5] of blessed memory. But he noted: "I know that this legal opinion is open to objection, but I shall wait until Nahray's letter with the difficulties pointed out by him will arrive; then I shall explain the matter to him, for I have a fine solution for them." God, the exalted, however, ordained what happened to the letter on its way to Susa, which distressed our master very much.[6]

On the very day the copied queries arrived from Susa, I gave them to merchants from Damascus. But they said: "We have no proper place for carrying them." I shall send them to you in one of the boats.

The beginning of the commentary of our master on [...] was copied here, in al-Mahdiyya, on my order and I was about to have it bound and dispatched, when a beautiful and carefully corrected copy turned up. I had the copying stopped.

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[2] In contrast to the ruin of Qayrawan and the devastation of the Tunisian countryside

[3] This shows that R. Nissim supervised the copying of his works in person. Since much of his work has been found in the Cairo Geniza, this remark is not without importance.

[4] Referring in Lamentations 4:20 to "the anointed of the Lord," the king.

[5] The *responsums*, or answers to legal queries, by Hay Gaon (d.1038) were eagerly studied long after his death.

[6] The Writer had informed R. Nissim of the point made by Nahray in a general way, to which the master had responded as reported here. But Nahray's letter was lost on the way between al-Mahdiyya and Susa, presumably in a case of robbery, about which the writer had reported in a previous communication.

- ***A Case of Inheritance***

I read what you have written concerning the affair of M. Israel[7] and have appointed an attorney in Susa, who informed me that he could not get more than 10 dinars out of Israel's brother, even after *our master* had talked to him. He wrote me himself, assuring me under heavy oath that Israel owed him over 100 dinars,[8] and asked me to let the matter rest until he would have written to his brother. After consultation with *our master* I issued him a certificate on the payment of these 10 dinars.

- ***Plea For the Writer's Brother***

As to my words of excuse for my elder son and younger brother[9] -- God knows that he is dearer to me than my own soul. In fact, no blame comes to him at all. Only because of my exaggerated love for him have I used some strong words against him. I ask God to protect my lord, ... and now I am quiet that my brother has found a friend in such an illustrious man as my lord and I have no doubt that now he will be successful and well-guided.

- ***A Consignment Sent with the Qadi's "Boy"***

You noted what you had sent with the agent of the qadi, (may) G(od) in(spire him with right decisions).[10] He said, however, to Abu Lamtuna: "The thing got lost in *Qawn*; the councilmen attacked us." I had written to my brother (the recipient) to send with him only a fixed, replaceable sum, but not [...].. Now I had to prove the exact nature of the consignment. But they said: "Your brother likes us, why should he not confide his wares to us and we would carry them to your place again, you will sue him, for he is [joining?] Abraham, the messenger, who travels to your parts this year, God willing.

- ***Revival of Jewish Learning in Egypt***

I was much pleased to read in your letter about the dedication to the study of the Torah and the zeal for learning shown by the son of *our master* Nathan of (blessed) me(mory), the head of the yeshiva.[11] May God keep his youthful zest and support him. And may he protect the life of our lord, the *Rav*, may his honored position be permanent and may he always receive God's favor. For through him God has revived learning (in Egypt), illuminated the community and fortified religion. He must continue his efforts, knowing how much he has already achieved in those parts and how great his reward will be for this. May God keep him and multiply men like him in Israel. No doubt God pays special attention to his community, for he does not leave a generation without a man who revives what has become defective and teaches what might be in danger of being forgotten, for thus he has promised us: "*It will never cease from the mouth of their offspring.*"

- ***The Norman Conquest of Sicily***

You inquired, my lord,...about Sicily. The situation deteriorates constantly, and everyone is terribly disturbed about the progress of the enemy who has already conquered most of the island. The prices here go up, for this place must rely for its supply of grain entirely on Sicily.[12] Twelve families of our coreligionists have been taken captive, and countless numbers of Muslims. May God protect all those of Israel who have remained there. [Messina (?) was conquered] by sword and a number of Jews died there. All these are matters which require attention. May God look upon us in his mercy and hide us in the treasure houses of his forgiveness.

Please, never let me be without an illustrious letter of yours reporting your good health and any concern you may have so that I can deal with it to your satisfaction, ...Kindest regards to my lord. Your servant Musa sends to my lord kindest regards.
God is sufficient for me and in him I trust.

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[7] A cousin and frequent correspondent of Nahray, whose brother, also called Abu Yahya Nahray, sojourned in Susa.

[8] Very unlikely that the man would have paid even a penny if he was able to substantiate a claim on 100 dinars. Such exaggerated assertions were common at the beginning of a lawsuit.

[9] The writer calls his younger brother Abu Ziki Judah b. Moses, a prominent merchant from Qayrawan active in Egypt "elder son" because he educated him. The words of affection are remarkable. In a previous letter, Labrat had purposely used some harsh words while writing about his beloved brother.

[10] Interesting that a Jewish judge uses this blessing for a Muslim colleague in a letter addressed to another Jewish divine.

[11] Nathan I b. Abraham served as head of the Jewish high council of Jerusalem for a short time only (1039-1042), but was president of its court for many years. His grandson and namesake served again in this capacity, while his great-grandson, compelled to leave war-ridden Palestine, was appointed judge in (New) Cairo. I cannot say which of the sons of Nathan I is intended here.

[12] This astonishing statement had its immediate reason in the devastation of the countryside by the Arab bedouins, but the dependence of the Tunisian seaports on Sicily for their supply of grain remained a reality for centuries.

B. Letter Number 40: A Father Writes to His Son in Alexandria From the Sudanese Port 'Aydhab

Nahray b. 'Allan, the writer of this letter was an India trader repeatedly mentioned as being on his way east- or westward at the time of Madmun, representative of merchants in Aden, and Abu Zikri Kohen, the latter's counterpart in Fustat, both also referred to here. Nahray's father, 'Allan b. Nahray, was domicile in Alexandria, and so, as the content of our letter shows, was his son, who, as usual, bore the name of his grandfather.

The exact date of the letter can be calculated on the basis of the following considerations. It was written on Friday, the 8th of Sivan, that is, a day after the Jewish holiday of Penecost (Shavuoth), and the writer reports that he is embarking on the ship of al-Dibaji ("the brocade dealer"). Another India trader writes from 'Aydhab that he will be traveling together with Nahray b. 'Allan and another friend in one cabin on that ship, and that they had already loaded their goods, and they would sail immediately after the holiday. A line before, he announces that he and his friends had arrived safely in 'Aydhab at the middle of the Muslim month of Ramadan. All these chronological details make it almost certain that the travellers arrived in 'Aydhab on or around April 24, 1141, and that our letter was written on May 16, three weeks later.

The main part of the letter is to be understood thus: a company of Muslim and Jewish traders sold part of their goods in 'Aydhab, or rather, exchanged them for the products of the East. Since sailing time was near, the party split into two: The Muslims made their purchases in the pepper and brazilwood bazzars and the Jews in the lac bazzar, or took cash for their goods. This arrangement was made only for expediency's sake. The Jews, of course, traded in pepper and brazilwood as eagerly as the Muslims. Our very letter makes mention of a shipment of brazilwood which Madmun had sent to the writer from Aden to 'Aydham, and which he now forwarded to Fustat. There, the representative of the merchants would take receipt of all the shipments and distribute their proceeds to all those who had invested in that business venture....

Probably May 16, 1141

- ***The Travel***

My boy and delight of my eyes, may God prolong your life, keep and protect you, and not withhold his support from you. I have written several letters to you from Qus, and also from 'Aydhab before this one, in which I communicated some of my yearning for you and longing after you. May God in his grace and favor unite us under the most joyful circumstances, for he is generous and bountiful.

I am writing this letter on Friday, the 8th of Sivan. I am traveling in the boat of al-Dibaji. May God grant a safe passage in his mercy.

- ***Purchases in 'Aydhab***

Please take notice that I acquired 330 pounds of lac out of pepper, brazilwood, and lac available here in 'Aydhab, for they sold the brazilwood and the pepper to the Muslims and took the price, but assigned to the Jews the lac and some cash ("gold"). I have not left cash for other shipments. Two dinars went for packing, canvas, and ropes, [...] one third for a sari, as a gift, and two-thirds [...]. One dinar was taken by the elder Abu'l-Fadl b. Abu'l-Faraj al-Dimyati for the expenses for the lac. He carries the lac, a copy of the account, and the list of the distribution (to the partners). He will deliver all this to my lord, the illustrious elder Abu Zikri Judah, the Kohen -- may God make his honored position permanent.[13] He will kindly sell everything and deliver his share to everyone; he will send the balance to you, and you will also deliver his share to everyone. He also will send you the account.

- ***Shipments From Aden***

Likewise, my lord, the illustrious elder Yahya b. Sar Shalom "Prince of Peace," may God made his honored position permanent, carries for you the shipment sent to me by the illustrious elder Madmun consisting of two bales of brazilwood, weighing two bahars (ca. 600 pounds) and 70 pounds, two bales of cowrie shells, measuring 1 *mudd* (Jerusalem mudd contained about 100 liter), five mana (ca. 2 pounds) of ashbah wood, and half a mana of old camphor. Furthermore, ten Qassi robes for the expenses. I asked him to make an account and, after deduction of customs and other expenses, to sell whatever he may deem appropriate and then inform you and await your instructions, whether you would sell all these shipments or only part of them. As to the cowrie shells, if you think it best to send them to Spain,[14] do in all matters what God puts into your mind. May he choose the best for you and me in all matters.

- ***The Family***

Receive the blessing of God for yourself and your boys, may God keep them and give your brothers to them. Regards to your mother, your wife, your maternal uncles and their sons ,etc. In several letters I had asked you about letters which I had forgotten to take with me, but you never replied to my queries. If you find them, keep them, for they contain accounts.

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[13] One sees how intensely conscious of social rank those merchants were. Compare this with the way in which the carrier of the writer's goods, mentioned before, was introduced.

[14] Cowrie shells served as amulets and ornaments for children and donkey saddles in the Muslim West, and in the Middle Ages also as an eye powder, in pulverized form, of course.

I need not impress on you to take good care of your mother, your wife, and your little ones; may God keep you for them and unite me with you.

- ***Last Minute Thoughts***

Know, my son, that this voyage will not bring much profit, unless God, the exalted, ordains otherwise. I asked him for guidance and resolved to send 100 dinars from the proceeds, of my goods with the ship of the elder Madmun, may God keep him, to whatever place it might sail.

I have already instructed you to take one-tenth from all that will be received, after having put aside 15 dinars, leaving them until I come, and use them for whatever God may make profitable.

C. Letter Number 43: Forced Conversion of the Local Jews, But Business as Usual

August 1198

Only the lower part of this interesting letter, still containing 59 lines, has been found thus far. The events described in its first section were preceded by a long period of crisis. Muslim religious propaganda had become extremely aggressive, while the Jews feverishly expected the immediate coming of the Messiah, and a simple-minded pious man had indeed declared himself messiah and found followers.

In the period Moses Maimonides wrote his famous "Yemenite epistle," or rather epistles, in order to strengthen the faith of his brethren, but also to unmask the futility of their expectations.

Things came to a head when the eccentric nephew of the great Saladin, al-Malik al-Mu'izz Isma'il, ruled Yemen (1197-1201). He had the audacity to style himself "caliph," although a caliph sat on the throne of the Abbasids in Baghdad at that time. His unorthodox ways are also evident in the forced mass conversions described in our letters, for Islam regards such conversions as illegal and invalid.

- ***Forceful Conversion of the Local Jews***

[...to] Aden. Immediately after his arrival [he was brought before the caliph?], who said to him: "Become a Muslim, or you will cause the death of [your] brethren." [...] He cried bitterly, but there was no other way for him [...] except to embrace Islam. Before his arrival in Aden, all those who were with him on the mountains had *apostatized;* the physician (known as) the Efficient, and everyone on the mountains apostatized; only the Jews of Aden remained. But the elder Madmun[15] accepted Islam on Wednesday, the first of Dhu'l-Qa'da (August 25, 1198). On Friday, the third, the bell (of the market-crier) was rung: "Community of Jews, all of you, anyone who will be late in appearing in the audience hall after noon, will be killed. None of the Jews remained, all went up to the audience hall. Moreover, he (the caliph) ordered that anyone returning to the Jewish faith would be killed. Thus all apostatized. Some of the very religious, who defected from Islam, were beheaded.

- ***The Foreign Jews***

As to us, do not ask me what we felt, witnessing horrors the like of which we had never seen.

But with us God wrought a miracle and saved us, *not through our might and power*, but through his grace and favor. For when we went up with them to the audience hall, the foreigners assembled separately, and the caliph was consulted about them. God put these words into his mouth: "No foreigner should be molested."[16] He ordered that everyone should pay a third of the poll tax.[17] We disbursed this and he dismissed us graciously, thank God. This is the upshot of what happened. But, by the great God, I am really not able to convey to you even part of what happened, for witnessing an event is one thing and hearing about it -- quite another.

- ***New Impositions on Visitors to Aden***

The merchants were outraged by the new impositions promulgated. Finally, however, God, the exalted, helped. (The caliph) had ordered that 15 out of 100 dinars should be taken from everyone both at arrival and departure, but God helped, and he ordered that this Karim should remain unchanged with no rise in tariff. But everyone coming later would have to pay 15 out of 100 dinars from all goods, and also gold and silver, from wheat and flour, in short, from everything. Such will be the earnings of anyone coming here next year.

- ***Conclusion***

I asked God for guidance and am traveling home in the boat of Ibn Salmun, the same in which I made the passage out. May God bestow safety upon it. My brother Abu Nasr will be traveling with me. I am kissing your hands and feet.[18]

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[15] Madmun b. David, the head of the Jewish community.

[16] This shows that, at that time, the Jewish India traders must have been still of considerable importance for the economy of Aden.

[17] The poll tax of the non-Muslims was to be paid at their permanent residence. Thus, this imposition was illegal. But the travellers were content to buy their religious freedom with this price.

[18] One kisses the hands of a senior relative and the feet of a judge. The writer might have been a relative of the judge Isaac b. Sason.

The Crusaders were a military undertaking, and like all military undertakings, there were economic ramifications. The troops needed to be provisioned, defenses needed to be built, funds had to be raised. In this letter from a Bishop in the East to his compatriots in Europe, we see first hand an effort to set this economic machine into motion.

Crusader Castles

(Hugh Kennedy: *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge University Press, 1994. pp. 192, 196, 197-198, Reprinted by permission.)

When the bishop had inquired carefully about the surroundings and district of the castle, and why the Saracens were so fearful of it being built, he found that if the castle were constructed, it would be a defence and security and like a shield for the Christians as far as Acre against the Saracens. It would be a strong and formidable base for attack and provide facilities and opportunities of making sallies and raids into the land of the Saracens as far as Damascus. Because of the building of this castle, the Sultan would lose large sums of money, massive subsidies and service of the men and property of those who would otherwise be of the castle and would also lose in his own land casals [villages] and agriculture and pasture and other renders since they would not dare to farm the land for fear of the castle. As a result of this, his land would turn to desert and waste and he would also be obliged to incur great expenditure and employ many paid soldiers for the defence of Damascus and the surrounding lands. In brief, he found from common report that there was no fortress in that land from which the Saracens would be so much harmed and the Christians so much helped and Christianity spread.

The massive daily expenses for guarding the castle Saphet.

For the honour therefore of Our Lord Jesus Christ and to show the devoted strength and immense need of the holy knights of the Order of the Temple, and to encourage devotion and compassion and to kindle the charity of the Christian faithful towards the Order and the castle, we will detail the expenses which the house of the Temple made there for building. For as we asked and carefully inquired from the senior men and through the senior men of the house of the Temple, in the first two and a half years, the house of the Temple spent on building the castle of Saphet, in addition to the revenues and income of the castle itself, eleven hundred thousand Saracen bezants, and in each following year more or less forty thousand Saracen bezants. Every day victuals are dispensed to 1,700 or more and in time of war, 2,200. For the daily establishment of the castle, 50 knights, 30 serjeants brothers, and 50 Turcupoles are required with their horses and arms, and 300 crossbowmen, for the works and other offices 820 and 400 slaves. There are used there every year on average more than 12,000 mule-loads of barley and corn apart from other victuals, in addition to payments to the paid soldiers and hired persons, and in addition to the horses and tack and arms and other necessities which are not easy to account.

The usefulness of the castle and the surrounding places which are attached to it.

You can realise how useful and necessary the castle is to the whole of the Christian lands and how harmful it is to the infidels by the experience of those who know that before it was built the Saracens, Bedouin, Khwarazmians and Turkmen used to make raids to Acre and through other lands of the Christians. By the building of the castle of Saphet, a bulwark and obstacle was placed and they did not dare to go from the River Jordan to Acre, except in very great numbers, and between Acre and Saphet loaded pack animals and carts could pass safely and agricultural lands could be worked freely. Between the River Jordan and Damascus, on the other hand, the land remained uncultivated and like a desert for fear of the castle of Saphet, whence great raids and depredations and layings waste are made as far as Damascus. There the Templars won many miraculous victories against the enemies of the Faith, which are not easy to recount since a great book could be written about them.

However it should not be omitted that below the castle of Saphet in the direction of Acre, there is a town or large village where there is a market and numerous inhabitants and which can be defended from the castle. In addition the castle of Saphet has under its lordship and in its district, more than 260 casals, which are called *ville* in French, in which there are more than 10,000 men with bows and arrows in addition to others from whom it is possible to collect large sums of money to be divided between the castle of Saphet and other Orders and barons and knights to whom the casals belong, and from whom little or nothing could be collected before the building of Saphet, nor would it be collected today if the castle had not been built since all were in the possession of the Sultan and other Saracens.

When considering its usefulness, the most important thing of all should not be omitted, that now it is possible to preach the faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ freely in all these places and to destroy and disprove publicly in sermons the blasphemies of Mohammed, which was not possible before the building of Saphet The Saracens no longer presume, as they did before, to proclaim the blasphemies of Muhammad against the faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ. There can now be visited famous places which are in the district of Saphet, like the well of Joseph, where he was sold by his brothers, and the city of Capernaum which is on the borders of Zabulon and Naphtali, where Our Lord Jesus Christ lived and began his preaching and personally performed many miracles and where Peter paid the tribute of a stater found in the mouth of a fish for himself and for the Lord Jesus Christ and where Matthew sat at the customs, whence he was taken to become an apostle.

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Toward the end of this period, the famous wanderer, Marco Polo, came through the Middle East and reported on his observation to his European sponsors. Following are some of his perceptions from his cultural journey.

The Travels of Marco Polo [the Venetian]

(Revised from Marsden's translation and edited with introduction by Manuel Komroff, New York: Boni & Liveright, 1926, pp.319-326. Permission pending))

- ***Of the Province of Aden***

The province of Aden is governed by a king, who bears the title of Soldan [Sultan]. The inhabitants are all Saracens, and utterly detest the Christians. In this kingdom there are many towns and castles, and it has the advantage of an excellent port, frequented by ships arriving from India with spices and drugs. The merchants who purchase them with the intention of conveying them to Alexandria, unlade them from the ships in which they are imported, and distribute the cargoes on board of other smaller vessels or barks. With these they navigate a gulf of the sea for twenty days, more or less, according to the weather they experience.

Having reached their port, they then load their goods upon the backs of camels, and transport them overland, their days' journey, to the river Nile. Here they are again put into small vessels, called *jerms*, in which they are conveyed by the stream of that river to Kairo, and from thence, by an artificial canal, named Kalizene, at length to Alexandria.

This is the least difficult, and the shortest route the merchants can take with their goods, the produce of India, from Aden to that city. In this port of Aden, likewise, the merchants ship a great number of Arabian horses, which they carry for sale to all the kingdoms and islands of India, obtaining high prices for them, and making large profits.

The Soldan of Aden possesses immense treasures, arising from the taxes he lays, both on the merchandise that comes from India, and that which is shipped in his port as the returning cargo, this being the most considerable mart in all that quarter for the exchange of commodities, and the place to which all trading vessels resort.

I was informed that when the Soldan of Babylon led his army the first time against the city of Acre, and took it, this city of Aden assisted him with thirty thousand horses and forty thousand camels. So great is the hate borne against the Christians. We shall now speak of the city of Escier.

- ***Of the City of Escier***

The ruler of this city Escier [Shehr, Arabia] is a Mahometan, who governs it with justice, under the superior authority of the Soldan of Aden.

Its distance from thence is about forty miles to the south-east. Subordinate to it there are many towns and castles. Its port is good, and it is visited by many trading ships from India, which carry back a number of excellent horses, highly esteemed in that country, and sold there at considerable prices.

This district produces a large quantity of white incense of the first quality, which distills, drop by drop, from a certain small tree that resembles the fir. The people occasionally tap the tree, or pare away the bark, and from the incision the frankincense gradually exudes, which afterwards becomes hard. Even when an incision is not made a dripping is perceived to take place, in consequence of the excessive heat of the climate.

There are also many palm-trees, which produce good dates in abundance. No grain excepting rice and millet is cultivated in this country, and it becomes necessary to obtain supplies from other parts. There is no wine made from grapes; but they produce a liquor from rice, sugar, and dates, that is a delicious beverage. They have a small breed of sheep, the ears of which are not situated like those in others of the species; two small horns growing in the place of them, and lower down, towards the nose, there are two orifices that serve the purpose of ears.

These people are great fisherman, and catch the tunny in such numbers, that two may be purchased for a Venetian groat. They dry them in the sun, and as by reason of the extreme heat, the country is in a manner burnt up, and no sort of vegetable is to be seen, they accustom their cattle, cows, sheep, camels, and horses, to feed upon dried fish, which being regularly served to them, they eat without any signs of dislike.

The fish used for this purpose are of a small kind, which they take in vast quantities during the months of March, April, and May; and when dried, they lay up in their houses for the food of their cattle. These will also feed upon the fresh fish, but are more accustomed to eat them in the dried state.

In consequence also of the scarcity of grain, the natives make a kind of biscuit of the substance of the larger fish, in the following manner: they chop it into very small particles, and moisten the preparation with a liquor rendered thick and adhesive by a mixture of flour, which gives to the whole the consistency of paste. This they form into a kind of bread, which they dry and harden by exposure to a burning sun. A stock of this biscuit is laid up to serve them for the year's consumption.

The frankincense before mentioned is so cheap in the country as to be purchased by the governor at the rate of ten gold ducats the quintal, who sells it again to the merchants at forty bezants. This he does under the direction of the Soldan of Aden, who monopolizes all that is produced in the district at the above price, and derives a large profit from the re-sale. Nothing further presenting itself at this place, we shall now speak of the city of Dulfar.

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Islam and Africa

While Europe and the Middle East were occupied with each other, Islam continued its spread and foundation building in Africa, reaching across the continent to West Africa. In these four readings we wee the relative wealth, strength and vitality of the Islamic communities and polities which thrived throughout Africa and co-mingled, communicated and concerned the Muslim Middle East.

I. Al-Omari

(Basil Davidson, *The African Past: Chronicles From Antiquity to Modern Times* London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd, 1964, pp.75-77, 79-83, 107-109, 110, 111, permission pending.)

In 1324 the renowned emperor of Mali, Mansa Kankan Musa, left his capital on the Upper Niger for a pilgrimage to Mecca, taking with him, it was said, five hundred slaves each bearing a staff weighing five hundred nitqal being then about one-eighth of an ounce. His passage through Cairo long echoed in memory. Ibn Tadl Allah al Omari, who was in Cairo twelve years after this glittering event, has left a secondhand account which reads with a marvelous veracity, no doubt because he was able to draw on the intimate memoirs of a court functionary whose task it has been to greet the Mali emperor on his arrival at the gates of Cairo. Omari also wrote a description of the empire from information provided by a learned friend who had lived in Mali for thirty-five years.

- ***Travelling through Cairo***

During my first journey to Cairo and sojourn there I heard talk of the arrival of the Sultan Musa [Mansa Musa, emperor of Mali] and I found the Cairenes very glad to talk of the large expenditures of those people. I questioned the Emir Abu'l Abbas Ahmed ben Abi'l Haki, el Mehmendar, who spoke of the sultan's noble appearance, dignity and trustworthiness. "When I went out to greet him in the name of the glorious Sultan el Malik en Nasir [of Egypt]," he told me, "he gave me the warmest of welcomes and treated me with the most careful politeness. But he would talk to me only through an interpreter [that is, his spokesman or linguist] although he could speak perfect Arabic. He carried his imperial treasure in many pieces of gold, worked or otherwise.

"I suggested that he should go up to the palace and meet the Sultan [of Egypt]. But he refused, saying: 'I came for the pilgrimage, and for nothing else, and I do not wish to mix up my pilgrimage with anything else.' He argued about this. However, I well understood that the meeting was repugnant to him because he was loath to kiss the ground [before the Sultan] or to kiss his hand. I went on insisting and he went on making excuses. But imperial protocol obliged me to present him, and I did not leave him until he had agreed. When he came into the Sultan's presence we asked him to kiss the ground. But he refused and continued to refuse, saying: 'However can this be?' Then a wise man of his suite whispered several words to him that I could not understand. 'Very well,' he thereupon declared, 'I will prostrate myself before Allah who created me and brought me in the world.' Having done so he moved towards the Sultan. The latter rose for a moment to welcome him and asked him to sit beside him: then they had a long conversation. After Sultan Musa had left the palace the Sultan of Cairo sent him gifts of clothing for himself, his courtiers and all those who were with him; saddled and bridled horses for himself and his chief officers....

"When the time of pilgrimage arrived, [the Sultan of Egypt] sent him a large quantity of drachmas, baggage camels and choice riding camels with saddles and harness. [the Sultan of Egypt] caused abundant quantities of foodstuffs to be bought for his suite and his followers, established posting-stations for the feeding of the animals, and gave to the emirs of the pilgrimage a written order to look after and respect [the Emperor of Mali]. When the latter returned it was I who went to greet him and settle him into his quarters...."

"This man," el Mehmendar also told me, "spread upon Cairo the flood of his generosity; there was no person, officer of the [Cairo] court or holder of any office in the [Cairo] sultanate who did not receive a sum in gold from him. The people of Cairo earned incalculable sums from him, whether by buying and selling or by gifts. So much gold was current in Cairo that it ruined the value of money...."

Let me add [continues Omari] that gold in Egypt has enjoyed a high rate of exchange to the moment of their arrival. The gold *nitqal* that year had not fallen below twenty-five drachmas. But from that day [of their arrival] onward, its value dwindled; the exchange was ruined, and even now it has not recovered. The *nitqal* scarcely touches twenty-two drachmas. That is how it has been for twelve years from that time, because of the great amounts of gold they brought to Egypt and spent there.

II. Ibn Battuta: Travels in Mali

(Basil Davidson, *The African Past: Chronicles From Antiquity to Modern Times* London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd, 1964, permission pending.)

The most travelled of all Muslim writers of the Middle Ages, Muhammad ibn Abdullah ibn Battuta, was born of a Berber family at Tangier in 1304, spent the greater part of his adult life in wandering about the Muslim world from West Africa to India to China, and died in Marakesh in 1377. Not long before his sixtieth year he dictated his memoirs to Ibn Juzayy, who made a book of them. A complete text of Ibn Juzayy's work was found in Algeria about 130 years ago and translated into French in the middle of the century, since when it has become famous for its unique description of West and East Africa in the

fourteenth century. I give a few extracts here as bait for the reader who does not yet know Ibn Battuta, a wonderful teller of tales whose cast of characters -- whose quiddity -- has sting and savour that bring him to life even after six hundred years. With its highly personal mixture of sophistication and simplicity, Ibn Battuta's narrative remains one of the best travel books ever made.

His journey to the Empire of Mali began in 1352. He took the old but still difficult and dangerous caravan route across the western Sahara from Sijilmasa through Teghaza to Walata, crossing, as he says in another famous passage, "a desert haunted by demons" and arriving in Walata two months after leaving Sijilmasa. "[At first] we used to go head of the caravan, and when we found a place suitable for pasturage we would graze our beasts. We went on doing this until one of our party was lost in the desert; after that I neither went ahead nor lagged behind."

In Walata our learned friend declared himself shocked by the manners of the women but stayed for fifty days, thence continuing by way of the Middle Niger to the capital of Mali, which was probably at Niane on the left bank of the upper reach of the river. He returned north eighteen months later by way of the Middle Saharan route through the Hoggar mountains, thence westward again to Sijilmasa and so to Fez, "the capital of our master the Commander of the Faithful [may God strengthen him], where I kissed his beneficent hand and was privileged to behold his gracious countenance... and settled down under the wing of his bounty after long journeying."

The sultan of Mali is *Mansa* Sulayman, *mansa* meaning [in Mande] sultan, and Sulayman being his proper name. His is a miserly king, not a man from whom one might hope for a rich present. It happened that I spent these two months without seeing him, on account of my illness. Later on he held a banquet in commemoration of our master [the late sultan of Morocco] Abu'l-Hasan, to which the commanders, doctors, *qadi* [judge] and preacher were invited, and I went along with them. Reading-desks were brought in, and the Koran was read through, then they prayed for our master Abu'l-Hasan and also for *Mansa* Sulayman. When the ceremony was over I went forward and saluted *Mansa* Sulayman. The *qadi*, the preacher, and Ibn al-Faqih told him who I was, and he answered them in our tongue. They said to me, "The sultan says to you, 'Give thanks to God,'" so I said, "Praise be to God and thanks under all circumstances."

- ***Pomp and Circumstance***

On Certain days the sultan holds audiences in the palace yard where there is a platform under a tree, with three steps; this they call the *pempi*. It is carpeted with silk and has cushions placed on it. [Over it] is raised the umbrella, which is a sort of pavilion made of silk, surmounted by a bird in gold, about the size of a falcon. The sultan comes out of a door in a corner of the palace, carrying a bow in his hand and a quiver on his back. On his head he has a golden skullcap, bound with a gold band which has narrow ends shaped like knives, more than a span in length. His usual dress is a velvety red tunic, made of the European fabrics called *mutanfas*. The sultan is preceded by his musicians, who carry gold and silver *guimbris* [two stringed guitars], and behind him come three hundred armed slaves. He walks in a leisurely fashion, affecting a very slow movement, and even stops from time to time. On reaching the *pempi* he stops and looks round the assembly, then ascends it in the sedate manner of a preacher ascending a mosque-pulpit. As he takes his seat the drums, trumpets, and bugles are sounded. Three slaves go out at a run to summon the sovereign's deputy and the military commanders, who enter and sit down. Two saddled and bridled horses are brought, along with two goats, which they hold to serve as a protection against the evil eye. Dugha stands at the gate and the rest of the people remain in the street, under the trees.

The Negroes are of all people the most submissive to their king and the most abject in their behavior before him. They swear by his name, saying *Mansa Sulayman ki*. If he summons any of them while he is holding an audience in his pavilion, the person summoned takes off his clothes and puts on worn garments, removes his turban and dons a dirty skullcap, and enters with his garments and trousers raised knee-high. He goes forward in an attitude of humility and dejection, and knocks the ground hard with his elbows, then stands with bowed head and bent back listening to what he says. If anyone addresses the king and receives a reply from him, he uncovers his back and throws dust over his head and back, for all the world like a bather splashing himself with water. I used to wonder how it was they did not blind themselves. If the sultan delivers any remarks during his audience, those present take off their turbans and put them down, and listen in silence to what he says. Sometimes one of them stands up before him and recalls his deeds in the sultan's service, saying "I did so-and-so on such a day" or "I killed so-and-so on such a day." Those who have knowledge of this confirm his words, which they do by plucking the cord of the bow and releasing it [with a twang], just as an archer does when shooting an arrow. If the sultan says "truly spoken" or thanks him, he removes his clothes and "dusts." That is their idea of good manners.

- ***Security and Justice***

Among the admirable qualities of these people, the following are to be noted:

1. The small number of acts of injustice that one finds there; for the Negroes are of all peoples those who most abhor injustice. The sultan pardons no one who is guilty of it.

2. The complete and general safety one enjoys throughout the land. The traveller has no more reason than the man who stays at home to fear brigands, thieves or ravishers.

3. The blacks do not confiscate the goods of white men

[that is, of North Africans] who die in their country, not even when these consist of big treasures. They deposit them, on the contrary, with a man of confidence among the whites until those who have a right to the goods present themselves and take possession.

4. They make their prayers punctually; they assiduously attend their meetings of the faithful, and punish their children if these should fail in this. On Fridays, anyone who is late at the mosque will find nowhere to pray, the crowd is so great. Their custom is to send their servant to the mosque to spread their prayer-mats in the due and proper place, and to remain there until they, the masters, should arrive. These mats are made of the leaves of a tree resembling a palm, but one without fruit.

5. The Negroes wear fine white garments on Friday. If by chance a man has no more than one shirt or a solid tunic, at least he washes it before putting it on to go to public prayer.

6. They zealously learn the Koran by heart. Those children who are neglectful in this are put in chains until they have memorized the Koran. On one festival day I visited the *qadi* and saw children thus enchained and asked him: "Will you not let them free?" He replied: "Only when they know their Koran by heart."

Another day I was passing by a young Negro, a handsome lad and very well dressed, who had a heavy chain on his feet. I said to my companion: "What's happened to the boy? Has he murdered someone?" The young Negro heard what I had said and began laughing. "They have chained him," I was told, "simply to make him memorize the Koran."

But these people have some deplorable customs, as for example:

1. Women servants, slave women and young girls go about quite naked, not even concealing their sexual parts. I saw many like this during Ramadan; because it is the custom with the Negroes that commanding officers should break the fast in the sultan's place, and they are served with food which is brought by women slaves, twenty or more of them who are completely naked.

2. Women go naked into the sultan's presence, too, without even a veil; his daughters also go about naked. On the twenty-seventh night of Ramadan I saw about a hundred women slaves coming out of the sultan's palace with food, and they were naked. Two daughters of the sultan were with them, and these had no veil either, although they had big breasts.

3. The blacks throw dust and cinders on their heads as a sign of good manners and respect.

4. They have buffoons who appear before the sultan when the poets are reciting their praise-songs.

5. And then a good number of Negroes eat the flesh of dogs and donkeys.

III. Al Mas'udi on the Zanj

(Basil Davidson, *The African Past: Chronicles From Antiquity to Modern Times* London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd, 1964,permission pending.)

The sailors of Oman...go on the sea of the Zanj as far as the island of Kambalu and the Sofalah of the Demdemah, which is on the extremity of the country of the Zanj and the low countries thereabout. The merchants of Siraf are also in the habit of sailing on this sea. I have made a voyage on it from Sohar, which is the capital of Oman, with a crew of Sirafians.... And in A.H. 304 I made a voyage from the island of Kanbalu to Oman....

The sea of Zanj reaches down to the country of Sofala and of the Wak-Wak which produces gold in abundance and other marvels; its climate is warm and its soil fertile. It is there that the Zanj built their capital; then they elected a king whom they called *Waklimi*. This name...has always been that of their sovereigns. The *Waklimi* has under him all the other Zanj kings, and commands three hundred thousand men. The Zanj use the ox as a beast of burden, for their country has no horses or mules or camels and they do not even know these animals. Snow and hail are unknown to them as to all the Abyssinians. Some of their tribes have sharpened teeth and are cannibals. The territory of the Zanj begins at the canal which flows from the Upper Nile and goes down as far as the country of Sofala and the Wak-Wak. Their settlements extend over an area of about seven hundred parasangs in length and in breadth; this country is divided by valleys, mountains and stony deserts; it abounds in wild elephants but there is not so much as a single tame elephant.

Although constantly employed in hunting elephants and gathering ivory, the Zanj make no use of ivory for their own domestic purposes. They wear iron instead of gold and silver.

To come back to the Zanj and their kings, the name of the kings of the country is *Waklimi* which means supreme lord; they give this title to their sovereign because he has been chosen to govern them with equity. But once he becomes tyrannical and departs from the rules of justice, they cause him to die and exclude his posterity from succession to the throne, for they claim that in thus conducting himself he ceases to be the son of the Master, that is to say of the king of heaven and earth. They call God by the name Maklandjalu, which means supreme Master....

The Zanj speak elegantly, and they have orators in their own language. Often a devout man of the country, pausing in the midst of a numerous crowd, addresses to his listeners an exhortation in which he invites them to serve God and submit to His orders. He points out the punishments which disobedience must entail, and recalls the example of their ancestors and their ancient kings. These people have no code of religion; their kings follow custom, and conform in their government to a few political rules. The Zanj eat bananas, which are as abundant with them as in India, but the basis of their food is *dorrah*, a plant called *kalari* which

they take from the ground like a truffle, and the *elecampane* root.... They also have honey and meat. Each worships what he pleases, a plant, an animal, a mineral. They possess a great number of islands where the coconut grows, a fruit that is eaten by all the peoples of the Zanj. One of these islands, placed one or two days' journey from the coast, has a Muslim population who provide the royal family; it is the island of Kanabalu.

- ***The Ivory Trade***

[Tusks from the country of the Zanj] go generally to Oman, and from there are sent to China and India. That is the route they follow, and were it otherwise, ivory would be very abundant in Muslim countries. In Chirta the kings and their military and civilian officers used carrying-chains of ivory; no official or person of rank would dare to visit the king in an iron chair, and ivory alone is used for this purpose.... Ivory is much prized in India: there it is made into handles for the daggers known as *harari*, or *harri* in the singular, as well as for the hilts of curved swords.... But the biggest use of ivory is in the manufacture of chessmen and other gaming pieces.

IV. Freeman-Greenville: The Ivory Trade

(Basil Davidson, *The African Past: Chronicles From Antiquity to Modern Times* London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd, 1964, permission pending.)

As far back as the time of the *Periplus* [of the Erythraean Sea, first century] the main export [of the East African coast] was ivory, and this merits some digression. Only the "soft" ivory of East Africa can be used for the making of bangles. These have a special ritual significance in the marriage rites of Hindus, and cannot be made from the tusks of Indian elephant since they are too narrow in gauge. Once used, no other person may wear these bangles, and they are invariably cremated with the married woman who has employed them. Even today [1960] India imports half of the world's supply of ivory, and of this no less than h...f is employed in the making of bangles for Hindu brides. To the extent of this trade, even further afield as far as China, not only the *Periplus*, but also al Mas'udi bear witness and there can be no doubt that this was the fundamental reason for the continued Arab interest in East Africa, since the Southern Arabs from time immemorial had dominated the carrying trade of the western and northern parts of the Indian Ocean. There were, of course, other articles of commerce, gold, tortoiseshell and slaves, although of the latter literary references are scarce indeed in the Middle Ages. If there were East African slaves in India in the fifteenth century, it is impossible that there were many elsewhere in the Islamic world, since there were other and ample sources, especially in Caucasia and Western Asia, from which they might be derived.

Crossroads
The PreColonial Period

The pre-Colonial period is rich in opportunities to analyze cultural confrontations and assimilations. The thriving maritime economies of the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean put the Muslim Middle East precisely at the crossroads of a world economy that was becoming ever more integrated. Through political, military, economic, diplomatic, literary, and social contacts the various cultural centers and their people became observers and the observed. These multiple levels of contact create interesting complexities in our efforts at understanding the dialogues occurring between the cultures in this particular period.

The first three readings (I-III) are from three different travellers and we've selected passages describing areas visited by more than one of the travelogue writers. The first selection is from Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese official in the service of the government between 1500 and c. 1516, a frequent traveller, but most importantly, an Indian government official.

I. The Book of Duarte Barbosa

The Book of Duarte Barbosa. An account of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants, written by Duarte Barbosa, and completed about the year 1518 AD, trans., ed. and annotated by Mansel Longworth Dames, vol. I (Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1967 pp. 42-45, 53-57 Permission pending)

- **Suez**

Leaving this land [of the Preste Joam and also the coast of Arabia Felix] and turning to the other side of the Red Sea (which also they call Arabia, and which the Moors call Barayam); there is a seaport which is call Suez, whither the Moors were wont to bring all the spices, drugs and other rich wares from Jiddah, the port of Mecca, which came thither from India. These they carried from Jiddah in very small craft, and then loaded them on camels, and carried them by land to Cairo, whence other traders took them to Alexandria, and there they were bought by the Venetians; which trade has been destroyed by the King our Lord for his fleets took the ships of the Moors so that they should not pass from India to the Red Sea.

(In this passage Barbosa gives in concise language the history of the causes of the naval war in the Indian Ocean between the Portuguese and the Musalmans. It was primarily a struggle for the trade of the Orient. Until the Portuguese appeared in these seas the Arab sailors and merchants had a monopoly of the trade by sea, and the land-routes through Persia and Central Asia were commanded by the Turks. As the Turkish power increased both these systems came under their power. The final overthrow of the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt and Syria (the great Soldan of Cayro) by Sultan Salim in AD 1517, handed over the naval power hitherto exercised by the rulers of Egypt to the Turks. All the actions mentioned by Barbosa in the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf were fought previous to that date, and the enemy the Portuguese had to fight against was the Egyptian fleet under Mirocem (Mir Husain), which was allied with the fleet of the Muhammadan kings of Gujarat or Cambaya. It is clear, therefore, that this was far more than a trade war. It struck at the roots of Musalman supremacy in the Mediterranean, and as the Turks gradually concentrated that authority in their hands, and swept that sea with the fleets commanded by renegade corsairs (for they were no sailors themselves), the very foundations of that power were being sapped, and the trade on which they depended slipped from their hands and passed safely round the Cape to Europe.)

Wherefore the Great Sultan of Cairo, who loses much by this, ordered a great fleet to be fitted out in this port of Suez, for which the timber and artillery and all other munitions of war were brought by land, great sums being spent thereon. And this fleet was made up in great haste of sailing-ships and rowing-galleys, and as soon as it was ready it went to the First India, that is to the Kingdom of Cambaya, Mirocem going as its Captain-in-Chief,with the determination to deprive the Portuguese of the navigation. It met the fleet of the King our Lord, before Diu, where they fought so stoutly that men were wounded and slain on both sides, so that in the end the Moors were overcome, and their ships taken, and burnt and sunk. Through this action and many others which took place afterwards the navigation of the Red Sea fell off, and the Port of Suez was left with no trade in spices, and is now much decayed and well-nigh deserted.

- **The City of Aden**

Coming forth from the Red Sea over against Babel-mandel, which is the straitest part thereof, by which all ships must needs pass, we enter at once the wide sea of Adem, following the coast whereon are certain habitations of Moors pertaining to the same Kingdom of Adem. Passing by these we arrive at the populous and wealthy city of Adem, which belongs to the Moors and has its own king. This city has a right good haven and an exceeding great traffic in goods of importance. It is a fine town, with lofty houses of stone and mortar, flat-roofed, with many tall windows; it is well laid out in streets and surrounded with walls, towers and bastions, with battlements after our fashion. This city is on a point between the mountains and the sea. The mountain is cut through on the mainland side,

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so that there is no way of going out save by one passage only which they can use; on no other side can they come in or go out. On the upper part of this ridge, whereon the city lies, are many small castles, very fair to behold, which can be seen from the sea.

This city has within it no water whatsoever, save that, without that gate, of which they make use in going towards the inland country, there stands a great building to which they lead the water in pipes from other mountains a good way off, and there is a wide plain between one and the other. In this city are great merchants, Moors as well as Jews; they are white men and some of them black. Their clothing is of cotton, but some wear silk, camlets and scarlet-in-grain. Their garments are long gowns, with turbans on their heads and they are shod with low slippers. Their food is excellent flesh-meat, wheaten bread and great store of rice which comes thither from India. Here are all kinds of fruit as with us, and many horses and camels. The king always dwells in the inland regions, keeping here a governor to carry out his orders. To the harbour of this city come shirs from all parts, more especially from the port of Jiddah, whence they bring copper, quicksilver, vermilion, coral and woollen and silken cloths, and they take thither on their return great store of spices and drugs, cotton cloths and other wares of the great kingdom of Cambaya. From Zeila and Barbora too come many ships with food-stuffs in abundance; [in return they take back Cambay cloth and beads both large and small, and all the goods in which they trade for Arabia Felix and Preste Joam's country also come here, as do the ships of Ormuz and Cambaya] and those of Cambaya come laden with cloth of many kinds; so great is the number of them that is seems an astonishing thing! And as I have already said, they bring cotton, drugs (great quantity), gems, seed pearl in abundance, alaquequas, and to the said kingdom of Cambaya they take back madder, opium, raisins of the sun, copper, quicksilver, vermilion and great store of rosewater, which is made here. They also take much woollen cloth, coloured Mecca velvets, gold in ingots, coined and to be coined (and also some in strings), and camlets, and it seems an impossible thing that they should use so much cotton cloth as these ships bring from Cambaya. They come to this city from Ormuz, from Chaul, Dabul, Baticala and Calecut (whence most of the spices are wont to come) with great store of rice, sugar, and cocoanuts; and many ships come also from Bengala, Camatra and Malaca (Malaysia), which bring as well abundance of spices, drugs, silk, benzoin, lac, sanders-wood, aloes-wood, rhubarb in plenty, muck, thin Bengala cloths, and sugar (great store); so much so that this place has a greater and richer trade than any other in the world, and also this trade is in the most valuable commodities.

The Book of Duarte Barbosa. An account of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants, written by Duarte Barbosa, and completed about the year 1518 AD, trans., ed. and annotated by Mansel Longworth Dames, vol. II, London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1921, pp. 104-108, 174-176 Permission pending)

- ***The Maldives***

There is in these isles great store of dried fish, and they carry hence as well certain small shells (buzios), which are much sought after in the Kingdom of Cambaia and in Bengal, where they pass current as small change, for they hold it to be cleaner and better than copper.

In these islands they make very rich cloths of cotton and silk and gold, which are worth great sums of money among the Moors for their garments and turbans. The men of these isles wear very fine and thin kerchiefs round their caps, so finely wrought and perfect that our workmen would not be able to make them, and having no difference between right and wrong sides (lit. unless he has both right and wrong dies). They find in these islands shells of tortoises which they call alquama, these they divide into little pieces, very thin, which also is a great article of trade in the Kingdom of Gujarate.

Here too ambergris is found in large lumps, some white, some grey, and some black. I have ofttimes asked these Moors what thing this ambergris was, and whence it sprang. Among themselves they hold it to be the dung of birds, and they say that in this archipelago among the uninhabited islands there are certain great fowls which alight on the cliffs and rocks of the sea, and there drop this ambergris, where it is tanned and softened by the wind, the sun, and the rain, and pieces both great and small are torn by storms and tempests and fall into the sea until they are found or washed up on the strands or swallowed by whales. And those which they find white, called Ponambar, they say have been in the sea but a short time, and these they value most; the grey has been long in the sea and thus obtains that hue; this too they hold to be good, but not so good as the white. The other which is found black and crushed they say was swallowed by whales and thus turned black, and it has such strength that the whale cannot bear it but vomits it up altogether. This they call Minambar; it is worth less than the others. (It is heavier and lacks scent.)

And in these Maldio Islands they build many great ships of palm trunks, sewn together with thread, for they have no other timber, and in these they sail to the main they have keels and are of great burden. They also build smaller boats for rowing, like bargantins or fustas; these are the most graceful in the world, right well built and extremely light. In these they voyage from one island to the others, and also cross in them to Malabar.

Many ships of Moors, which pass from China, Maluco, Pegegu, Malaca (Malaysia), Sumatra (Indonesia), Bengal (India) and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) towards the Red Sea touch at these islands to water and take in supplies and other things needful for their voyages. At times they arrive here so battered that they discharge their cargoes and let them go

to the bottom. And among these isles many and rich vessels of Moors are cast away, which, crossing the sea, dare not through dread of our ships finish their voyage to Malabar and from these the natives obtain much valuable merchandize, which they sell to the Malabares who come hither to take in Cairo, as I have already said.

These folk, then, selling their goods, as I have already said,in Malaca at good prices take away in return cloths of Paleacate and Mailapur and others which come from Cambaya opium, rosewater, vermilion, great store of grains for dyeing, raw silk, saltpetre, iron, cacho and pucho (which are Cambaya drugs) all of which is much valued in Jaoa. From this city of Malaca ships sail also to the Isles of Maluco (whereof I will treat below) there to take in cargoes of cloves, taking thither for sale much Cambaya cloth, cotton and silk of all kinds, other cloths from Paleacate and Bengala, quicksilver, wrought copper, bells and basins, and a Chinese coin [like a bagattino with a hole in the middle], pepper, porcelain, garlic, onions, and other Cambaya goods of diverse kinds. Thus they sail from this city of Malaca to all the islands in the whole of this sea, and to Timor whence they bring the whole of the white sanders-wood, which is greatly esteemed among the Moors and is worth much; and thither they take it on, axed, knives, cutlasses, swords, cloths from Paleacate [and Cambaya], copper, quicksilver, vermilion, tin, lead great store of Cambaya beads in exchange wherefor they take away, as well as the sanders-wood, honey, wax and slaves. These ships also sail from Malaca to the islands which they call Bandan to get cargoes of nutmegs and mace, taking thither for sale Cambaya goods. They also go to the Island of Camatra, whence they bring pepper, silk, raw silk, benzoin (great store) and gold, and to other islands bringing thence camphor and aloes-wood; they go to Tanacary, Peeguu, Bengala, Paleacate, Charamandel, Malabar and Cambaya, so much so that this city of Malaca is the richest seaport with the greatest number of wholesale merchants and abundance of shipping and trade that can be found in the whole world. Gold comes thither in such abundance that the leading merchants dealing in it do not value their estates nor keep their accounts except in bahares of gold, which bahares are four quintals each, as I have stated in other chapters. There is a certain merchant there who alone will discharge three or four ships laden with every kind of valuable goods and re-lade them alone from his own stock. They deal also in victuals of various kinds, and all is well paid for and packed. In this city are many foreigners of various lands, who live there and are born in the country; these as I say are Moors with their own distinct language and are call Malaois. They are well set-up men and go bare, from the waist up but are clad in cotton garments below. They, the most distinguished among them, wear short coats which come half way down their thighs of silk, cloth-in grain or brocade - and over this they wear girdles; at their waists they carry daggers in damascenework which they call curs. Their women are tawny coloured, clad in very fine silk garments and short shirts [decorated with gold and jewels]. They are very comely, always well-attired, and have very fine hair [Ramusio: They have long hair, well-dressed with jewels on it, and flowers of some kind among them.]

"These Malaios hold the Alcoram of Mafamede in great veneration," they have their mosques; they bury their dead; their sons are their heirs; they live in large houses outside the city with many orchards, gardens and tanks, where they lead a pleasant like. They have separate houses for their trade within the city; they possess many slaves with wives and children who live apart and obey all their orders. They are polished and wellbred, fond of music, and given to love.

The second reading is from a contemporary of Barbosa's but a person with a very different background and professional purpose. Tome Pires' time in India coincided with Barbosa's but his mission was different. Pires was an apothecary (pharmacist) whose position did not require such obvious shaping of his observations as he was not writing necessarily for an official government audience.

II. The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires

(The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, From the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515. Translated from the Portuguese MS in the Bibliotheque de la Chabre de Députés, Paris, and edited by Armando Cortesao, London: Hakluyt Society, 1944, Volume 1, pp.12-13, 15-17 Permission pending.)

The merchandise which these [Egyptians] take to India comes from Venice in Italy. It comes to Alexandria, and from the Alexandria warehouses it comes by river to the factor[ie]s in Cairo, and from Cairo it comes in caravans with many armed people. It comes to Tor, but this is not often, because on account of the nomad robbers they need many armed people to guard the merchandise. But at the time of the Jubilee, which is held every year in Mecca and on the first day of February, when many people come, [the merchandise] is sent to Mecca with them. And from there it comes to Jidda and from Jidda it comes to the warehouses they have in Aden and from Aden it is distributed to Cambay, Goa, Malabar, Bengal, Pegu and Siam.

They take different kinds of colored woollen cloths, hats, glass of all kinds and colors, *azernefe*, vermilion, quicksilver, copper, steel, arms, silver, gold coinage, opium, mastic, all sorts of glass beads, liquid storax, rosewater, camlet (*chamalotes*) of many colors, both fine and other kinds, many fine and costly tapestries and carpets of good workmanship, both large and small, many mirrors....

Aden lies at the foot of a mountain, almost flat on the plain, a little town, but very strong, both in walls, towers and ramparts, as well as in the paraphernalia of gun towers, loopholes, much ordinance and many warriors -- for there are always many people of the country paid to fight, apart

from the fact that at any alarm a large number [of the people] from inland rush to help. Inside the city there is a beautiful fortress, with a captain in it always prepared as he should be, because for the last ten years they have always been afraid of our armadas, and all the Moors help this city so that it shall not be taken. They fear that if it were taken the end would soon come, because it is all they have left. And this city has already had a great battle, and would have been stormed if the ladders had not disastrously broken with the weight of the people scaling the walls. And the battle was a famous thing because [to capture] such towers the camp has to be taken first, and this town was all but lost by the Moors. This was a famous exploit, although the city was not taken; and it was not very happy afterwards, and its Kashises (among Arabs and Persians means a Christian priest, however Pires, as well as other sixteenth-century Portuguese writers, used the word to designate any priest, especially a Muslim) feel that its destruction will soon come.

This town has a great trade with the people of Cairo as well as with those of all India, and the people of India trade with it. There are many important merchants in the city with great riches, and many from other countries live there also. This city is a meeting place for merchants. It is one of the four great trading cities in the world, and it has dealings inside the straits with Jidda, to which it trades most of the spices and drugs in exchange for the said merchandise. It trades cloth to Dahlak and receives seed pearls in exchange; it trades coarse cloths and various trifling things to Zeila and Berbera in exchange for gold, horses, slaves and ivory; it trades with Sokotra, sending cloth, straw of Mecca, Socotrine aloes, and dragon's blood; it trades with Ormuz, whence it brings horses; and out of the goods from Cairo it trades gold, foodstuffs, wheat, and rice if there is any, spices, seed pearls, musk, silk and any other drugs; it trades with Cambay, taking there the merchandise from Cairo and opium, and returning large quantities of cloth, with which it trades in Arabia and the Islands, and seeds, glass beads, beads from Cambay, many carnelians of all colors, and chiefly spices and drugs from Malacca, cloves, nutmeg, mace, sandalwood, cubeb, seed pearls and things of that sort.

It takes a great quantity of madder and raisins to Cambay, and also to Ormuz; it trades with the kingdom of Goa, and takes there all sorts of merchandise and horses from both [Aden] itself and from Cairo, and receives in return rice, iron, sugar, *beatilhas* (an old Portuguese word for fine muslin, or a sort of very thin cloth made of cotton or linen), and quantities of gold; it trades with Malabar in India, where the main market was Calicut, whence it took pepper and ginger; and it traded merchandise from Malacca with Bengal in return for many kinds of white cloths, and it traded the merchandise from Malacca also with Pegu in exchange for lac, benzoin, musk and precious stones, rice also from Bengal, rice from Siam, and merchandise from China which comes through Ayuthia. And in this way it has become great, prosperous and rich, and the king receives all his revenues from Aden alone, for all the rest is nothing. There is no doubt that the madder alone brings the king 100,000 *cruzados*.

The last reading in this traveller's section, like the first two, describes at some length the economic connections between the Muslim Middle East and the subject of their writing. Although Ibn Khaldun travels to the Maldives almost one whole century prior to Duarte Barbosa, his description differs significantly from Barbosa's. This raises questions of the value of this type of source material for historical analysis. How are we to know which of the travellers is providing the most honest portrayal of his subjects?

III. Ibn Battutah: The Maldive Islands

[from *al Rihlah*, Travels]

(Translated by H.A.R. Gibb in *Anthology of Islamic Literature*, edited by James Kritzeck, New York: Holt, Rinehard & Winston, 1964, pp.262-266, permission pending.)

Like innumerable Moslems before and since, Ibn Battutah set out from his native Tangiers at the age of twenty-one, in 1325, on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Unlike them, however, he continued travelling more or less constantly for the remainder of his long life. One authority had estimated that Ibn Battutah travelled some seventy-five thousand miles, from the depths of West Africa to the seaports of China. He was able to do so because the Islamic world at that time was wide and tranquil and sufficiently homogeneous so that his profession, religious law, commanded dignity within it, and recommended him for diplomatic missions outside it.

The people of the Maldive Islands are upright and pious, sound in belief and sincere in thought; their bodies are weak, they are unused to fighting, and their armor is prayer. Once when I ordered a thief's hand to be cut off, a number of those in the room fainted. The Indian pirates do not raid or molest them, as they have learned from experience that anyone who seizes anything from them speedily meets misfortune. In each island there are beautiful mosques, and most of their buildings are made of wood. They are very cleanly and avoid filth; most of them bathe twice a day to cleanse themselves, because of the extreme heat there and their profuse perspiration. They make plentiful use of perfumed oils, such as oil of sandalwood. Their garments are simply aprons; one they tie round their waists in place of trousers, and on their backs they place other cloths resembling the pilgrim garments. Some wear a turban, others a small kerchief instead. When any of them meets the qadi, or preacher, he removes his cloth from his shoulders, uncovering his back, and accompanies him

thus to his house. All, high or low, are bare-footed; their lanes are kept swept and clean and are shaded by trees, so that to walk in them is like walking in an orchard. In spite of that every person entering a house must wash his feet with water from a jar kept in a chamber in the vestibule, and wipe them with a rough towel of palm matting which he finds there. The same practice is followed on entering a mosque.

From these islands there are exported the fish we have mentioned, coconuts, cloths, and cotton turbans, as well as brass utensils, of which they have a great many, cowrie shells, and *qanbar*. This is the hairy integument of the coconut, whey they tan in pits on the shore, and afterwards beat out with bars; the women then spin it and it is made into cords for sewing [the planks of] ships together. These cords are exported to India, China and Yemen, and are better than hemp. The Indian and Yemenite ships are sewn together with them, for the Indian Ocean is full of reefs, and if a ship is nailed with iron nails it breaks up on striking the rocks, wherein if it is sewn together with cords, it is given a certain resilience and does not fall to pieces. The inhabitants of these islands use cowrie shells as money. This is an animal which they gather in the sea and place in pits, where its flesh disappears, leaving its white shell. They are used for buying and selling at the rate of four hundred thousand shells for a gold dinar, but they often fall in value to twelve hundred thousand for a dinar. They sell them in exchange for rice to the people of Bengal, who also use them as money, as well as to the Yemenites, who use them instead of sand [as ballast] in their ships. These shells are used also by the Negroes in their lands; I saw them being sold at Mali and Gawgaw at the rate of 1,150 for a gold dinar.

Their womenfolk do not cover their hands, not even their queen does so, and they comb their hair and gather it at one side. Most of them wear only an apron from their waists to the ground, the rest of their bodies being uncovered. When I held the qadiship there, I tried to put an end to this practice and ordered them to wear clothes, but I met with no success. No woman was admitted to my presence in a lawsuit unless her body was covered, but apart from that I was unable to affect anything. I had some slave-girls who wore garments like those worn at Delhi and who covered their heads, but it was more of a disfigurement than an ornament in their case, since they were not accustomed to it. A singular custom amongst them is to hire themselves out as servants in houses at a fixed wage of five dinars or less, their employer being responsible for their upkeep; they do not look upon this as dishonorable, and most of their girls do so. You will find ten or twenty of them in a rich man's house. Every utensil that a girl breaks is charged up against her. When she wishes to transfer from one house to another, her new employers give her the sum which she owes to her former employers; she pays this to the latter and remains so much in debt to her new employers. The chief occupation of these hired women is spinning *qanbar*. It is easy to get married in these islands on account of the smallness of the dowries and the pleasure of their women's society. When ships arrive, the crew marry wives, and when they are about to sail they divorce them. It is really a sort of temporary marriage. The women never leave their country.

It is a strange thing about these islands that their ruler is a woman, Khadija. The sovereignty belonged to her grandfather, then to her father, and after his death to her brother Shihab ad-Din, who was a minor. When he was deposed and put to death some years later, none of the royal house remained but Khadija and her two younger sisters, so they raised Khadija to the throne. She was married to their preacher, Jamal ad-Din, who became Wazir and the real holder of the authority, but orders are issued in her name only. The qadi is held in greater respect among the people than all the other functionaries; his orders are obeyed as implicitly as those of the ruler or even more so. He sits on a carpet in the palace, and enjoys the entire revenue of three islands, according to ancient custom. There is no prison in these islands; criminals are confined in wooden chambers intended for merchandise. Each of them is secured by a piece of wood, as is done amongst us [in Morocco] with Christian prisoners.

When I arrived at these islands I disembarked on one of them called Kannalus, a fine island containing many mosques, and I put up at the house of one of the pious persons there. When ten days had passed a ship arrived from Ceylon bringing some darwishes, Arabs and Persians, who recognized me and told the Wazir's attendants who I was. This made him still more delighted to have me, and at the beginning of Ramadan he sent for me to join in a banquet attended by the amirs and ministers. Later on I asked his permission to give a banquet to the darwishes who had come from visiting the foot [of Adam, in Ceylon]. He gave permission, and sent me five sheep, which are rarities among them because they are imported from Ma'bar, Mulaybar, and Maqdasha, together with rice, chicken, ghee, and spices. I sent all this to the house of the wazir Sulayman, who had it excellently cooked for me, and added to it besides sending carpets and brass utensils. I asked the Wazir's permission for some of the ministers to attend my banquet, and he said to me "And I shall come too." So I thanked him and on returning home to my house found him already there with the ministers and high officials. The Wazir sat in an elevated wooden pavilion, and all the amirs and ministers who came greeted him and threw down an unsewn cloth, so that there were collected about a hundred cloths, which were taken by the darwishes. The food was then served, and when the guests had eaten, the Koran-readers chanted in beautiful voices. The darwishes then began their ritual chants and dances. I had made ready a fire and they went into it, treading it with their feet, and some of them ate it as one eats sweetmeats, until it was extinguished. When the night came to an end, the Wazir withdrew and I went with him. As we passed by an orchard belonging to the treasury he said to me "This orchard is

yours, and I shall build a house in it for you to live in." I thanked him and prayed for his happiness. Afterwards he sent me two slave-girls, some pieces of silk, and a casket of jewels.

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Timur and Bayezid

The next three readings from this period (I-III) utilize the symbol of historical characters as the basis for crossroads. Timur Khan (1336 - 1405 AD, 737-807 AH) was a Turkoman prince from Samarkand who carved out a significant empire between Eastern Anatolia and India during the late fourteenth/early fifteenth centuries. He was noted for his ruthlessness and our readings all respond in one way or another to his reputation. One player on the historical stage with him at that time was the Ottoman emperor or Sultan, Bayezid I. An equally complex player, Bayezid terrorized the European frontier throughout his reign and battled Timur for lands in the "House of Islam." All three sources share a fascination with Timur's expansive personality and discuss his relationship with Bayezid and other rulers from that era.

Christopher Marlowe's "Tamburlaine the Great" was greatly influenced by Machiavellian notions of political leadership that were current at that time. A short portion of this fascinating Elizabethan drama, this selection credits Tamburlaine (Europeanized version of the name Timur-leng) with accomplishments beyond those of his own remarkable history, telling us more, perhaps, about the playwright and audience than about Timur himself.

I. Tamburlaine The Great

(Christopher Marlowe: *Tamburlaine The Great*, edited by J.S. Cunningham, Manchester University Press, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981 pp.184-193, 212-216, permission pending.)

Act IV Scene iii.

[*Enter*] Soldan (Sultan of Egypt), Arabia (Alcidamus, King of Arabia and Zenocrate's betrothed), Capolin (An Egyptian Officer), *with streaming colours*, and Soldiers.

Soldan. Methinks we march as Meleager did,
Environed with brave Argolian knights,
To chase the savage Calydonian boar;
Or Cephalus with lusty Theban youths,
Against the wolf that angry Themis sent
to waste and spoil the sweet Aonian fields.
A monster of five hundred thousand heads,
Compact of rapine, piracy, and spoil,
The scum of men, the hate and scourge of God,
Raves in Egyptia, and annoyeth us.
My lord, it is the bloody Tamburlaine,
A sturdy felon and a base-bred thief
By murder raised to the Persian crown,
That dares control us in our territories.
To tame the pride of this presumptuous beast,
Join your Arabians with the Soldan's power:
Let us unite our royal bands in one
And hasten to remove Damascus' siege.
It is a blemish to the majesty
And high estate of mighty emperors,
That such a base usurping vagabond
Should brave a king or wear a princely crown.

Arabia. Renowned Soldan, have ye lately heard
The overthrow of mighty Bajazeth
About the confines of Bithynia?
The slavery wherewith he persecutes
The noble Turk and his great empress?

Soldan. I have, and sorrow for his bad success.
But, noble lord of great Arabia,
Be so persuaded that the Soldan is
No more dismayed with tidings of his fall
Then in the haven when the pilot stands
And views a stranger's ship rent in the winds
And shivered against a craggy rock.
Yet, in compassion of his wretched state,
A sacred vow to heaven and him I make,
Confirming it with Ibis' holy name,
That Tamburlaine shall rue the day, the hour,
Wherein he wrought such ignominious wrong
Unto the hallowed person of a prince,
Or kept the fair Zenocrate so long
As concubine, I fear, to feed his lust.

Arabia. Let grief and fury hasten on revenge,
Let Tamburlaine for his offences feel
Such plagues as heaven and we can pour on him.
I long to break my spear upon his crest
And prove the weight of his victorious arm,
For Fame I fear hath been too prodigal
In sounding through the world his partial praise.

Soldan. Capolin, hast thou surveyed out powers?

Capolin. Great emperors of Egypt and Arabia,
The number of your hosts united is
A hundred and fifty thousand horse,
Two hundred thousand foot, brave men-at-arms,
Courageous and full of hardiness,
As frolic as the hunters in the chase
Of savage beasts amid the desert woods.

Arabia. My mind presageth fortunate success;
And, Tamburlaine, my spirit doth foresee
The utter ruin of thy men and thee.

Soldan.
Then rear your standards, let your sounding drums
Direct our soldiers to Damascus' walls.
Now, Tamburlaine, the mighty Soldan comes
And lead with him the great Arabian king
To dim thy baseness and obscurity,
Famous for nothing but for theft and spoil,
to raze and scatter thy inglorious crew
Of Scythians and slavish Persians.

Act IV Scene iv. *The banquet, and to it cometh* TAMBURLAINE *all in scarlet*, ZENOCRATE (the daughter of the Governor of Damascus), THERIDAMAS (A Persian Lord who came to Tamburlaine prior to Tamburlaine's taking over Persia), TECHELLES and USUMCASANE (Two of Tamburlaine's original followers), *the Turk* BAJAZETH (Emperor of the Turks) *drawn in his cage*, ZABINA (Empress of the Turks), *with others.*

Tamburlaine. Now hang our bloody colours by Damascus,
Reflexing hues of blood upon their heads
While they walk quivering on their city walls,
Half dead for fear before they feel my wrath.
Then let us freely banquet and carouse
Full bowls of wine unto the god of war
That means to fill your helmets full of gold
And make Damascus' spoils as rich to you
As was to Jason Colchos' golden fleece.
And now, Bajazeth, hast thou any stomach?

Bajazeth. Ay, such a stomach, cruel Tamburlaine, as I could willingly feed upon thy blood-raw heart.

Tamburlaine. Nay, thine own is easier to come by, pluck out that, and 'twill serve thee and thy wife. Well, Zenocrate,
Techelles, and the rest, fall to your victuals.

Bajazeth. Fall to, and never may your meat digest!
Ye Furies, that can mask invisible,
Dive to the bottom of Avernus' pool
And in your hands bring hellish poison up
And squeeze it in the cup of Tamburlaine!
Or, winged snakes of Lerna, cast your stings,
And leave your venoms in this tyrants dish.

Zabina. And may this banquet prove as ominous
As Procne's to th'adulterous Thracian king
That fed upon the substance of his child!

Zenocrate. My lord, how can you suffer these outrageous curses by these slaves of yours?

Tamburlaine. To let them see, divine Zenocrate,
I glory in the curses of my foes,
Having the power from th'empyreal heaven
To turn them all upon their proper heads.

Techelles. I pray you give them leave, madam, this speech is a goodly refreshing to them.

Theridamas. But if his highness would let them be fed, it would do them more good.

Tamburlaine. Sirrah, why fall you not to? Are you so daintily brought up you cannot eat your own flesh?

Bajazeth. First, legions of devils shall tear thee in pieces.

Usumcasane. Villian, knowest thou to whom thou speakest?

Tamburlaine. O let him alone: here, eat, sir, take it from my sword's point or I'll thrust it to thy heart.
He [Bajazeth] take it and stamps upon it

Theridamas. He stamps it under his feet, my lord.

Tamburlaine. Take it up, villian, and eat it, or I will make thee slice the brawns of they arms into carbonadoes, and eat them.

Usumcasane. Nay, 'twere better he killed his wife, and then she shall be sure not to be starved, and he be provided for a month's victual beforehand.

Tamburlaine. Here is my dagger, despatch her while she is fat, for if she lives but a while longer, she will fall into a consumption with fretting, and then she will not be worth the eating.

Theridamas. Dost thou think that Mahomet will suffer this?

Techelles. 'Tis like he will, when he cannot let it.

Tamburlaine. Go to, fall to your meat; what, not a bit? Belike he hath not been watered today; give him some drink.

(They give him water to drink, and he flings it on the ground.)
Fast and welcome, sir, while hunger make you eat. How now, Zenocrate, doth not the Turk and his wife make a goodly show at a banquet?

Zenocrate. Yes, my lord.

Theridamas. Methinks 'tis a great deal better than a consort of music.

Tamburlaine. Yet music would do well to cheer up Zenocrate. Pray thee tell, why art thou so sad?
If thou wilt have a song, the Turk shall strain his voice. But why is it?

Zenocrate. My lord, to see my father's town besieged,
The country wasted where myself was born --
How can it but afflict my very soul?
If any love remain in you, my lord,
Or if my love unto your majesty
May merrit favor at your highness' hands,
Then raise your siege from fair Damascus' walls
And with my father take a friendly truce.

Tamburlaine. Zenocrate, were Egypt Jove's own land,
Yet would I with my sword make Jove to stoop.

I will confute those blind geographers
That make a triple region in the world,
Excluding regions which I mean to trace,
And with this pen reduce them to a map,
Calling the provinces, cities, and towns
After my name and thine, Zenocrate.
Here at Damascus will I make the point
That shall begin the perpendicular
And would'st thou have me buy thy father's love
With such a loss? Tell me, Zenocrate.

Zenocrate. Honour still wait on happy Tamburlaine.
Yet give me leave to plead for him, my lord.

Tamburlaine. Content thyself, his person shall be safe
And all the friends of fair Zenocrate,
If with their lives they will be pleased to yield
Or may be forced to make me emperor:
For Egypt and Arabia must be mine.
[*To Bajazeth*]
Feed, you slave; thou mayst think thyself happy to be fed from my trencher.

Bajazeth. My empty stomach, full of idle heat,
Draws bloody humours from my feeble parts,
Preserving life by hasting cruel death.
My veins are pale, my sinews hard and dry,
My joints benumbled; unless I eat, I die.

Zabina. Eat, Bajazeth, let us live in spite of them, looking some happy power will pity and enlarge us.

Tamburlaine. Here, Turk, wilt thou have a clean trencher?

Bajazeth. Ay, tyrant, and more meat.

Tamburlaine. Soft, sir, you must be dieted; too much eating will make you surfeit.

Theridamas. So it would, my lord, specially having so small a walk, and so little exercise.
(*Enter a second course of crowns.*)

Tamburlaine. Theridamas, Techelles and Casane, here are the cates you desire to finger, are they not?

Theridamas. Ay, my lord, but none save kings must feed with these.

Techelles. 'Tis enough for us to see them, and for Tamburlaine only to enjoy them.

Tamburlaine. Well, here is now to the Soldan of Egypt, the King of Arabia, and the Governor of Damascus. Now take these crowns, and pledge me, my contributory kings.
I crown you here, Theridamas, King of Argier, Techelles, King of Fesse, and Usumcasane, King of Moroccus. How say you to this,
Turk-- these are not your contributory kings!

Bajazeth. Nor shall they long be thine, I warrant them.

Tamburlaine. Kings of Argier, Morrocus, and of Fesse,
You that have marched with happy Tamburlaine
As far as from the frozen plage of heaven
Unto the wat'ry morning's ruddy bower,
And thence by land unto the torrid zone,
Deserve these titles I endow you with,
By valor and by magnanimity:
Your births shall be no blemish to your fame,
For virtue is the fount whence honour springs,
and they are worthy she investeth kings.

Theridamas. And since your highness hath so well vouchsafed,
If we deserve them not with higher meeds
Then erst our states and actions have retained,
Take them away again and make us slaves.

Tamburlaine. Well said, Theridamas: when holy Fates
Shall 'stablish me in strong Egyptia,
We mean to travel to th'Antarctic Pole,
conquering the people underneath our feet,
And be renowned as never emperors were.
Zenocrate, I will not crown thee yet,
Until with greater honours I be graced.

Act V Scene I. Enter TAMBURLAINE *leading the* SOLDAN; TECHELLES, THERIDAMAS, USUMCASANE, *with others.*

Tamburlaine. Come, happy father of Zenocrate,
A title higher than thy Soldan's name,
Though my right hand have thus enthralled thee,
Thy princely daughter here shall set thee free
See that hath calmed the fury of my sword,
Which had ere this been bathed in streams of blood
As vast and deep as Euphrates or Nile.

Zenocrate. O sight thrice welcome to my joyful soul,
To see the king my father issue safe
From dangerous battle of my conquering love!

Soldan. Well met, my only dear Zenocrate,
Though with the loss of Egypt and my crown.

Tamburlaine. 'Twas I, my lord, that gat the victory;
And therefore, grieve not at your overthrow
Since I shall render all into your hands
And add more strength to your dominions
Then ever yet confirmed th'Egyptian crown.
The god of war resigns his room to me,
Meaning to make me general of the world:
Jove, viewing me in arms looks pale and wan,
Fearing my power should pull him from his throne;
Where'er I come the Fatal Sisters sweat,
And grisly Death, by running to and fro
To do their ceaseless homage to my sword;
And here in Afric where it seldom rains,
Since I arrived with my triumphant host
Have swelling clouds drawn from wide

gasping wounds
Been oft resolved in bloody purple showers,
A meteor that might terrify the earth
And make it quake at every drop it drinks;
Millions of souls sit on the banks of Styx,
Waiting the back return of Charon's boat;
Hell and Elysium swarm with ghosts of men
That I have sent from sundry foughten fields
To spread my fame through hell and up to heaven.
And see, my lord, a sight of strange import --
Emperors and kings lie breathless at my feet.
The Turk and his great empress, as it seems,
Left to themselves while we were at the fight,
Have desperately despatched their slavish lives;
With them Arabia too hath left his life --
All sights of power to grace my victory;
And such are objects fit for Tamburlaine.
Wherein as in a mirror may be seen
His honour, that consists in shedding blood
When men presume to manage arms with him.

Soldan. Mighty hath God and Mahomet made thy hand,
Renowned Tamburlaine, to whom all kings
Of force must yield their crowns and emperies;
And I am pleased with this my overthrow
If, as beseems a person of thy state,
Thou hast with honour used Zenocrate.

Tamburlaine. Her state and person wants no pomp, you see,
And for all blot of foul in chastity,
I record heaven, her heavenly self is clear.
Then let me find no further time to grace
Her princely temples with the Persian crown,
But here these kings that on my fortunes wait
And have been crowned for proved worthiness
Even by this hand that shall establish them,
Shall now, adjoining all their hands with mine,
Invest her here my Queen of Persia:
What sayth the noble Soldan and Zenocrate?

Soldan. I yield with thanks and protestations
Of endless honour to thee for her love.

Tamburlaine. Then doubt I not but fair Zenocrate
Will soon consent to satisfy us both.

Zenocrate. Else should I much forget myself, my lord.

Theridamas. Then let us set the crown upon her head
That long hath lingered for so high a seat.

Techelles. My hand is ready to perform the deed,
For now, her marriage time shall work us rest.

Usumcasane. And here's the crown, my lord, help set it on.

Tamburlaine. Then sit thou down, divine Zenocrate,
And here we crown thee Queen of Persia
And all the kingdoms and dominions
That late the power of Tamburlaine subdued.
As Juno, when the giants were suppressed
That darted mountains at her brother Jove,
So looks my love, shadowing in her brows
Triumphs and trophies for my victories;
Or as Latona's daughter bent to arms,
Adding more courage to my conquering mind.
To gratify thee, sweet Zenocrate,
Egyptians, Moors and men of Asia,
From Barbary unto the Western Indie,
Shall pay a yearly tribute to thy sire;
And from the bounds of Afric to the banks
Of Ganges shall his might arm extend.
And now, my lords and loving followers,
That purchased kingdoms by your martial deeds,
Cast off your armor, put on scarlet robes,
Mount up your royal places of estate,
Environed with troops of noble men,
And there make laws to rule your provinces:
Hang up your weapons on Alcides' post,
For Tamburlaine takes truce with all the world.
Thy first betrothed love, Arabia,
Shall we honor, as beseems, entomb,
With this great Turk and his fair emperess;
Then after all these solemn exequies
We will our rites of marriage solemnise.

The second reading in the Timur- Bayezid section is from arguably one of the greatest historians that ever lived, Ibn Khaldun (733-808AH/1332-1406AD). Born in Tunisia, he became known throughout North Africa and the remainder of the Muslim Middle East.

II. Conversations With Tamerlane

[from *al-Ta'rif bi-ibn Khaldun,* Information concerning Ibn Khaldun]
(Anthology of Islamic Literature, edited by James Kritzeck, New York: Holt, Rinehard & Winston, 1964, pp.281-284, permission pending.)

Early in 1401, Ibn Khaldun, who had accompanied his sovereign, Sultan Faraj, to Damascus, met the world-conquering Tamerlane during the latter's campaign in Syria. He recorded their conversations in an autobiography uncharacteristically informal in style. It is notable that Tamerlane utilized their meeting to extract detailed information concerning North Africa, while Ibn Khaldun did not let the opportunity pass without making mention of his favorite theory of group solidarity, the subject of the foregoing selection.

When the news reached Egypt that Emir Timur [Tamerlane] had conquered Asia Minor, had destroyed Siwas, and had returned to Syria, Sultan Faraj gathered his armies, opened the bureau of stipends, and announced to the troops the march to Syria. At that time I was out of office, but Yashbak, the Sultan's chief of staff, summoned me and urged me to accompany him in the royal party. When I tried to refuse his offer he assumed a firm attitude toward me, though with gentleness of speech and considerable generosity. So I departed with them.

When I stood at the entrance [to Tamerlane's tent], permission came out to seat me there in a tent adjoining his reception tent. When my name was announced, the title "Maghribi Malikite Cadi"[That is to say, "Judge of the Malikite school of Sunnite law from northwestern Africa] was added to it; he summoned me, and as I entered the audience tent to [approach] him he was reclining on his elbow while platters of food were passing before him which he was sending one after the other to groups of Mongols sitting in circles in front of his tent.

Upon entering, I spoke first, saying "Peace be upon you," and I made a gesture of humility. Thereupon he raised his head and stretched out his hand to me, which I kissed. He made a sign to me to sit down; I did so just where I was, and he summoned from his retinue one of the erudite Hanafite jurists of Khwarizm, 'Abd al-Jabbar ibn an-Nu'man, whom he bade sit there also to serve as interpreter between us.

He asked me from where in the Maghrib I had come, and why I had come. I replied, "I left my country in order to perform the pilgrimage [to Mecca]. I came to it [i.e. Egypt] by sea and arrived at the port of Alexandria on the day of the breaking of the Fast in the year 4 [and 80] of this seventh century[19] while festivities were [in progress] within their walls because az-Zahir [Barquq] was sitting [in audience] on the royal throne during these ten days by count."

Timur asked me, "What did az-Zahir do for you?" I replied, "He was generous in giving recognition to my position; he accorded me hospitable entertainment and supplied me with provisions for the pilgrimage. Then, when I returned, he allotted me a large stipend, and I remained under his shelter and favor -- may Allah grant him mercy and recompense him."

He asked me, "How did he happen to appoint you Cadi?" I replied, "The Cadi of the Malikites had died one month before his [az-Zahir's] death; he thought I had the proper qualifications for the office -- the pursuit of justice and right, and the rejection of outside influence -- so he named me in his place. But when he died a month later, those who were in charge of the government were not pleased with my position and replaced me with another Cadi."

He said, "I desire that you write for me [a description of] the whole country of the Maghrib -- its distant as well as its nearby parts, its mountains and its rivers, its villages and its cities -- in such a manner that I might seem actually to see it."

I said, "That will be accomplished under your auspices."

Later, after I had departed from the audience with him, I wrote for him what he had requested, and put what was intended by it in a summary which would be the equivalent of about twelve quires of half format.

Then he gave a signal to his servants to bring from his tent some of the kind of food which they call "rishta" and which they were most expert in preparing. Some dishes of it were brought in, and he made a sign that they should be set before me. I arose, took them, and drank, and liked it, and this impressed him favorably. [Then] I composed in my mind some words to say to him which, by exalting him and his government, would flatter him.

So I began by saying: "May Allah aid you -- today it is thirty or forty years that I have longed to meet you." The interpreter, 'Abd al-Jabbar asked, "And what is the reason for this?"

I replied, "Two things: the first is that you are the sultan of the universe and the ruler of the world, and I do not believe that there has appeared among men from Adam until this epoch a ruler like you. I am not one of those who speak about matters by conjecture, for I am a scholar and I will explain this, and say: Sovereignty exists only because of group loyalty, and the greater the number in the group, the greater is the extent of sovereignty. Scholars, first and last, have agreed that most of the peoples of the human race are of two groups, the Arabs and the Turks. You know how the power of the Arabs was established when they became united in their religion in following their Prophet [Mohammed]. As for the Turks, their contest with the kings of Persia and the seizure of Khorasan from their hands by Afrasiyab is evidence of their origin from royalty; and in their group loyalty no king on earth can be compared with them, not Chosroes nor Caesar nor Alexander nor Nabuchadnezzar...."

"The second reason which has led me to desire to meet him [Tamerlane] is concerned with what the prognosticators and the Muslim saints in the Maghrib used to tell," and I mentioned [some prophecies] I have related above.

The news was brought to him that the gate of the city had been opened and that the judges had gone out to fulfill their [promise of] surrender, for which, so they thought, he had generously granted them amnesty. Then he was carried away before us, because of the trouble with his knee, and was placed upon his horse; grasping the reins, he sat upright in his saddle while the bands played around him until the air

[19]Ibn Khaldun is referring here to time according to the Muslim calendar, beginning from the date of the Prophet Muhammad's hijra from Mecca to start a community in Medina.

shook with them; he rode toward Damascus.

When the time for Timur's journey approached and he decided to leave Damascus, I entered to him one day. After we had completed the customary greetings, he turned to me and said, "You have a mule here?"

I answered, "Yes."

He said, "Is it a good one?"

I answered, "Yes."

He said, "Will you sell it? I would buy it from you."

I replied, "May Allah aid you -- one like me does not sell to one like you; but I would offer it to you in homage, and also others like it if I had them."

He said, "I meant only that I would requite you for it with generosity."

I replied, "Is there any generosity left beyond that which you have already shown me? You have heaped favors upon me, accorded me a place in your council among your intimate followers, and shown me kindness and generosity -- which I hope Allah will repay you in like measure."

He was silent; so was I. The mule was brought to him while I was with him at his council, and I did not see it again.Then on another day I entered to him and he asked me: "Are you going to travel to Cairo?"

I answered, "May Allah aid you -- indeed, my desire is only [to serve] you, for you have granted me refuge and protection. If the journey to Cairo would be in your service, surely; otherwise I have no desire for it."

He said, "No, but you will return to your family and to your people."

The last selection comes from an anonymous writer concerned with the Ottoman Sultans' history, but written from the perspective of a Greek with interests in Byzantine and European relations with the Ottomans. This chronicle is rich with references to the various levels upon which cultures interact, including their fascination with leading characters in history.

III. Bayezid I Yildirim (1389-1402)

(Byzantium, Europe, and the Early Ottoman Sultans 1373-1513, An Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Seventeenth Century (Codex Barerinus Graecus 111), Translated and Annotated by Marios Philippides (New York: Aristide D. Caratzas), 1990. pp.23-32, permission pending.)

After the death of Sultan Murad his son Bayezid ascended to the throne through the affection of the vizier, even though his brother Yakub was older. Shortly thereafter, the vizier sent the following message to him: "Your father wishes to talk to you." As the same procedure had been employed in the past and he had not yet heard of his father's death, Yakub came. So Bayezid apprehended him and, soon afterwards, put him to death by strangulation, in accordance with their custom. Afterwards, the death of Sultan Murad was publicly announced and Bayezid was enthroned.

And he assembled all his troops and marched against Marko Kraljevic, the lord of Bulgaria. The two armies fought a battle in which Bayezid crushed the Bulgarians and slaughtered many, because the Turk's horsemen were lighter and faster. Lord Marko fell here. Then Bayezid seized many cities and territories in Hungary and then returned to his court in Adrianople; here he confirmed his treaty of friendship with the Romans and their emperor Palaeologus. It was at this time that he transferred Turkish families and numerous people from Anatolia to Rumeli and settled them in the region of Skoplje and in Bulgaria. Next he advanced to the territory of Bosnia, seized numerous cities and regions, amassed great booty, and carried away a multitude of slaves. He descended upon Albania in Epirus, looted, and destroyed everything in his way, because this land does not have any strongly fortified cities. The Christian lords followed him, as they had done under his father, since they had the obligation to accompany him. Lord Manuel was the exception, who did not follow him; neither did John, Androniko's son, who had been blinded earlier; his sight had been restored in the meantime.

After he had subdued the entire territory of Little Armenia, he moved against Karaluk[20] and deprived him of the lordship over Soumakia. Karaluk maintained an army and was able to offer battle but Bayezid was victorious. So Karaluk fled and entered Soumakia which was then besieged by Bayezid for a few days. But when he proved unable to take it, he left and marched against other lords in the east: Lord Aydin, Sargun, Mentese, and Meidin; all were chiefs, i.e., petty dukes; he defeated them. They abandoned their territories and fled; they came to Susa, the land of Grand Tatar named Timur, to whom they complained that Sultan Bayezid had marched against them and was plundering their lands. When Timur heard this, he became greatly angered, since he was being unjust to them and was taking over their regions, even though they were all followers of the same faith. So Timur the Tatar gathered his troops to which the petty lords added their own, creating one army. There were some petty lords in Phrygia, who did not wish to ally themselves with Timur, claiming that they were relatives of Bayezid. So Timur maintained a vigilant watch, seeking an opportunity to pay them back, because they were aiding Bayezid; all together, there were seven lords who were aiding Bayezid. They were all Turks, in addition to the lord of Meidin. Bayezid took and assumed control of the entire province of Cappadocia, which used to be under the command of Kara Yusuf. Thus Bayezid's

[20]Bayezid's Anatolian campaigns were ultimately responsible for the intervention of Timur and for the battle of Ankara. In fact, Bayezid's rapid movements from Europe to Anatolia earned him the nickname "Yildirim" meaning thunderbolt or lightening.

power in the east became greater.

From there he returned and crossed to Europe, to Rumeli, with his troops. He marched to Epirus against the Albanians and plundered; similarly, he looted Bosnia. He then had it said that he wished to go to Phokai in Thessaly; but his real intention was to go to Hellas and then gain entrance into the Morea. He appointed Lord John Palaeologus first commander of his army. His initial campaign won him the city Dometiza in the regions of Thessaly. From there he advanced and seized Pharsala, Achilles' homeland, near Larisos. He moved on and took Zetouni, a city in Thermopolis, as well as New Patras, in addition to others. The inhabitants of these areas, together with many other pitiable Christians, submitted willingly to him.

Lord Davalos' wife controlled Aulona and its entire territory since the death of her husband; because she was a widow, she had married a priest. She governed her charge badly and the people of her region were suffering. The widow took numerous gifts and her daughter, who had been betrothed to a Christian lord, and went to meet Bayezid and pay her respects. He received her; she presented him with the gifts; she also gave him her daughter and he accepted her to be his wife. Bayezid then dispatched a standard bearer with many Turks and took over her territories. Bayezid did this, because he found an excuse in the fact that she had poisoned her husband Davalos and had taken, for her husband, a priest by the name of Strates; he had put many local lords to death and, on top of this, he was a sorcerer, he was Spanish by descent, from Aragon.

When Bayezid was informed that Sigismund had a strong, numerous army and that he had conquered many regions and lands, he grew apprehensive, in case he should suffer a defeat and be forced to withdraw from Europe, i.e., Rumeli. So he assembled his entire army and marched to Preveza, which was being besieged by Sigismund. This city had a strong Turkish garrison, was well-fortified, and resisted Sigismund. Bayezid arrived here with his troops. When Sigismund saw this, he lifted the siege, mustered his troops, and prepared to confront Bayezid.

As soon as the Turks saw [the French soldiers], they ordered their horsemen to charge; they encircled and cut down the entire French contingent; not a single Frenchman survived. When the Hungarians realized that all the French had perished, they marveled at their ignorance: to fight the Turks on foot! Had they known about it, they would have come to help them; but the French alone were to blame for this disaster, for Bayezid's victory, and for the rout of the Hungarians. It is related that when the French attacked the front line of the Turks, they killed many Turks; had the Hungarians entered the conflict in the same manner, the battle would have been won; but, out of spite, they failed to advance and assist.

When the archbishop of Vienna saw the rout of the army, he led his soldiers to the center of the struggle, launched a counterattack against the Turks, and slew many. The Christians were exclaiming: "Victory! Victory is ours!" The archbishop was able to put the Turkish troops to flight. But Bayezid perceived that his soldiers were being routed, he had 60,000 troops standing by his side, all picked horsemen; he advanced and managed to surround the Christians before Sigismund could come; he fled, because the Turkish line stretched seven miles in length, from one end to the other. They encircled the Christians and butchered them; those who could flee did so.

Then he broke camp and departed victorious. On the way to his capital he plundered the Bulgarian villages and enslaved many individuals. He decided to conquer Buda by sword, the large, strongly fortified city, and the key to Hungary. But because he suffered an attack of gout and his legs were in pain, he gave it up and returned to his court in Adrianople.

After some time had passed, he assembled his troops and marched against Mircea, because he was aiding Hungary. This Mircea was the lord of Wallachia, had received troops from Moldavia, and was a brave man. Whenever the Turks reached these regions, Mircea's Wallachians emerged, captured or killed the Turks, and again vanished into the forest. One day Mircea marched out into the plains openly, sought an engagement, and butchered many of them. When Bayezid saw this turn of events, he became frightened, held a meeting with Evrenos Pasha[21], and decided to discontinue the present campaign against Mircea. So he took his troops, crossed the Danube, turned back, and marched to his capital, Adrianople.

After some time had passed, he took his forces, marched, and began the blockade of Constantinople; he intended to take the City by the sword, as he was aware of the weakness of the unfortunate Romans and was further attempting to surpass his ancestors. This city, Constantinople, is the head and queen of all cities.

When Bayezid saw that some time had passed and that [the many Christian lords who were obliged to assist him had not come to his aid], he mustered his forces in Adrianople, marched, began the blockade of the City, and destroyed the inhabitants' vineyards, gardens, beautiful towers, and villages. For eight years he plundered and enslaved many individuals. Because he blockaded Constantinople, many people died of hunger.

Because Bayezid was waging war upon the City, Emperor John Palaeologus appointed his cousin John, Androniko's son, regent in his place and he personally travelled to the west and its princes. He came to the Signoria of Venice and petitioned for aid, arguing that the Turk should not be allowed to conquer such an imperial city. He was promised some aid. Next he visited the duke

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[21] A member of an old Ottoman family, whose founder had converted from Christianity to Islam. This Evrenos had risen through the Ottoman ranks to become a reliable and trusted military leader.

of Milan who received him, honored him greatly, and bestowed upon him many florins, horses, and other gifts.

Next he travelled to the king of France. This king was crazed, totally demented, and lived apart from his court. He received neither a response to his pleas nor aid. Then he was entertained by other princes[22] and dukes but secured no aid. When he realized that nothing was being achieved, he returned to the City empty-handed. Meanwhile, Bayezid had not relaxed his operations but had maintained an unceasing siege.

In addition, he dispatched an army to the Morea with Yakub Pasha; he also sent Evrenos, who stemmed from the old families of Othman, the offspring of brave men. There were widespread plunder and pillage. Ravaging, they advanced so far as Korone and Methone. Then Yakub Pasha came to Argos and seized it.

Fearing Timur, the king of Great Tataria, Bayezid lifted the siege of the City, marched with his troops to Anatolia, and besieged and took Ertzika, a city commanded by a Turkish duke. Then he moved on and subdued other Turkish lords, whom he deprived of their territories. Then all the lords of Anatolia gathered, came, and complained to Timur in the following manner: "Sultan Bayezid has invaded and robbed us of our lands and commands. You are a great king, your Lordship, and you have great power. Let us join forces and fight him, since it was he who decided to spare neither ourselves nor our cities." Timur consented and made preparations for war. He dispatched a messenger to Bayezid, bearing a woman's gown; it was his custom to send this gift with his envoys to other kings. He gave the following instructions to his messenger: "Take this message to Bayezid: since you are waging war upon the Turks, who have the same faith as ourselves, you are not a good man. You should have attacked foreigners, not Turks, the children of the Prophet, who have never wronged you. You are committing an injustice."

Bayezid listened patiently to the words of the messenger. He was greatly offended by the dress that Timur had sent him. Then he addressed the messenger: "Go tell Timur, your king, that I am liked neither in the east nor in the west, because I fight for the faith. Since my actions and conquests are not to his liking and since he wishes to force me out of the places that I took with my sword, I will be his enemy; tell him to refrain, next time, from sending such presents, because I am the scion of kings and possess more riches than he does." Then the envoy returned and related Bayezid's response to Timur. When he had done with his report, Timur became greatly angered. He called the Turkish lords together and related Bayezid's reply. Once more the same envoy was dispatched to Bayezid, telling him to give up the lands and the cities that he had seized from the Turkish lords; if he refused to restore them, he would be declared Timur's foe: "I will lead my forces against you; I will also conquer your territories in Anatolia." When Bayezid heard this message, he laughed and ridiculed Timur's words.

Then Timur took his forces, marched, seized the districts of Sebasteia and Cappadocia, and continued with the conquest of Anatolia. As soon as Bayezid was told that Timur had conquered Sebasteia and was advancing through Anatolia, he took his forces and crossed over to Anatolia. He was told that Timur had even captured his son alive whom he had then beheaded. On top of this, another message reached Bayezid: he was told to restore the territories that he had subdued to give 2,000 measures of butter and 2,000 tents, to proclaim throughout his realm that Timur was a great king, to add Timur's name to all newly minted coins, and to send one of his sons to Timur's court to be a servent. If he refused to send him and to act accordingly, he would be a great enemy. Bayezid issued no response to this ultimatum.

So Timur marched to find him with an army of 800,000; he passed through Phrygia and Lydia. Then Bayezid, too, went to find and confront him with an army of 120,000; his forces included 10,000 Bulgarian and Serbian Christians, who had come to help Bayezid; on them he had placed all hope since they had experience in warfare. He marched as far as Phrygia, where he encountered Timur. Earlier in Bayezid's camp his tent had collapsed, killing three young men, even though no wind had been blowing and no one had shaken it. This had been interpreted as a bad omen. On the following day, when he had decided to find Timur and seek an engagement, his vizier, a pasha, had told him to avoid a battle with Timur in this area, Ankara of Phrygia.

Timur was amazed at the boldness of Bayezid, who had dared to confront him with few troops. Then Timur mounted his horse and approached Bayezid's camp; after he looked at it, he laughed and said: "Truly this man could be called lightning." Then Timur divided his army into two sections, put his son in charge of half and kept the other half for himself. Bayezid, too, divided his troops into three parts: to the left wing he assigned the pasha of Anatolia, to the right the pasha of Rumeli, while Bayezid positioned himself in the center with the janissaries and all the picked regiments of the seraglio.

On the following day he advanced in battle order; he was accompanied by Sakoukos, a Persian lord, and by other Persian lords, who were in his retinue. Then the two armies began fighting and a hard conflict ensued. The Bulgarians and Serbs fought bravely against their opponents. When Bayezid saw that he was being defeated by his foe, because his troops from Rumeli were being routed, he became apprehensive, in case the Persian Sakoukos came and forced him in the front. He cried out to his men to turn back but

[22] He visited London, was received by Henry IV in December of 1400. He also visited Genoa, Ferrara, and Florence, thus the capitals of Europe were well aware of Bayezid's blockade of Constantinople and were happy to learn of his eventual defeat by Timur.

they did not hear him. He kept threatening them, until they managed to get free; they tried to reach his position. On their way back the enemy intercepted them and they were butchered. When Bayezid saw the rout and slaughter of his troops -- by now whoever could flee did so -- he mounted a fast mare and he, too, fled with all his might to save himself. Even before Timur had entered the struggle, he had seen that Bayezid had been routed. As soon as he realized this, he issued order not to kill or enslave the Turks, because he felt pity for them; they were to be stripped and released. But Bayezid was fleeing on the mare, as I mentioned, pursued by many horsemen from Timur's army; then his mare because thirsty, sought and found water, and stopped. Bayezid was unable to dissuade her with the reins. While she was bending to water herself, Timur's men reached him, took him prisoner, and escorted him to their lord.

Bayezid's son and other men, Bayezid's beys, were also captured in this battle. These people were stripped and released but Musa, Bayezid's son, was detained. Similarly, Bayezid's other sons, Suleyman, Isa, and Mehmed, were also held. Later some of them managed to escape only to fall into the hands of the Romans; these Romans were patrolling the sea in warships stationed at the straits of Kallipolis. Bayezid's wife, the daughter of Lazar, the Serbian despot, was also seized and given to Timur. She, together with others, had been removed from the seraglio at Prousa.

When they brought Bayezid, a bound prisoner, to Timur, he rejoiced greatly and addressed him: "Unfortunate man! Why did you throw your family into unhappiness? Why did you fail to listen? My men's servants alone could have defeated you and overturned your good fortune; yet you dared to march against me with falconers, hunters, and hounds, as if you were dealing with a child." It is reported that Bayezid had 7,000 falconers and hunters, in addition to 6,000 hounds. When Bayezid heard Timur's mocking words, he answered as follows: "King, you are a Tatar, i.e., a Scythian. You are greedy; you seize, you live as befits a thief, and you are not aware of the value of falcons and hounds. But I, Murad's son and Orhan's descendant, the scion of kings, must maintain hunters, falcons, and hounds." This response enraged Timur; he ordered his prisoner bound, thrown on top of a mule, and paraded through the entire camp to be ridiculed by the troops. Then he put him in prison.

Next he had Bayezid's dear wife brought to him; he had her dresses cut from the knee to the thigh. In addition to the other indignities, whenever Timur sat to dinner with his officers, he had Bayezid brought in and kept at a distance in chains, so that the servants could throw bones at him. After such indignities, Bayezid spoke to him: "Rude and ignorant man: you act as befits your parents' race; they were villains of peasant, crude, rough, and obscure stock. It is not right that you should have contempt for the wives and children of kings. You do not listen; you cannot tell friend from foe." Timur laughed at his words and said: "You are ignorant."

After he had spent a few days in prison, certain Turks who had been liberated by Sultan Bayezid talked to some individuals and promised a generous reward if they found a way for Bayezid to escape and save himself. They accepted the offer; during the night they began digging a tunnel from a distant spot to reach his cell and spirit him away. Their course, however, brought them straight under the guardhouse. The guards heard them, came out, and apprehended them; then they were beheaded.

He had Bayezid's neck bound with a golden chain and he had him paraded through Anatolia, Syria, and the regions that he visited, until Bayezid died. Whenever Timur was about to mount, he would force Bayezid upon the ground and use his back for a stool. Bayezid died in a place called Ionia where Timur was in the year 1398[23]. Bayezid had been a prisoner for one year. Some people maintain that Bayezid perished in prison, when, out of bitterness, he struck his head against the wall and expired. He was a stubborn man. He reigned for twenty-five years. He was brave. On account of his speed, he was nicknamed "Lightning." Thus ended the reign of Bayezid. He was Murad's son and fifth Ottoman ruler.

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Global Trade and the New World Order

While political leaders in the 20th century speak of Global Trade and the connections between foreign policy and economic advancement, the following readings, combined with the first three from this section, provide a picture of a thriving global trade and its policy and cultural

I. Draft Treaty of Amity and Commerce: The Ottoman Empire and France February 1535

(Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America edited by Hunter Miller, Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931, pp.304-311).

In February, 1535 and Chaban 941 AH, King Francis of France and Sultan Suleyman negotiated through their intermediaries the following pact between their respective empires. implications from the 15th and 16th centuries.

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[23] Bayezid actually died on March 9, 1403. The use of Bayezid as a stool may have occurred as humiliation of defeated foes was a Mongol custom.

France sought commercial privileges for trading within the confines of the Ottoman empire. These privileges, other than as listed in Article XV, were not reciprocal. Because the Ottoman negotiator for this instrument, the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha, was executed (due to unrelated circumstances) by Sultan Suleyman in 1535, the treaty was never signed.

I. They have negotiated, made, and concluded a valid and sure peace and sincere concord in the name of the Grand Signior (Suleyman) and the King of France during their lives and for the kingdoms, dominions, provinces, castles, cities, ports, harbors, seas, islands, and all other places they hold and possess at present or may possess in the future, so that all subjects and tributaries of said sovereigns who wish may freely and safely, with their belongings and man, navigate on armed or unarmed ships, travel on land, reside, remain in and return to the ports, cities and all other places in their respective countries for their trade, and the like shall be done for their merchandise.

II. Likewise, the said subjects and tributaries of the said monarchs shall, respectively be able to buy, sell, exchange, move, and transport by sea and land from one country to the other all kinds of merchandise not prohibited, by paying only the ordinary customs and ancient dues and taxes, to wit, the Turks, in the dominion of the King, shall pay the same as Frenchmen, and the said Frenchmen in the dominions of the Grand Signior shall pay the same as the Turks, without being obliged to pay any other new tribute, impost, or storage due.

III. Likewise, whenever the King shall send to Constantinople or Pera or other places of this Empire a bailiff -- just as at present he has a consul at Alexandria -- the said bailiff and consul shall be received and maintained in proper authority so that each one of them may in his locality, and without being hindered by any judge, cadi, soubashi, or other, according to his faith and law, hear, judge, and determine all causes, suits, and differences, both civil and criminal, which might arise between merchants and other subjects of the King. Only in case the orders of the said bailiffs and consuls should not be obeyed and that in order to have them executed they should appeal to the soubashi or other officer of the Grand Signior, the said soubashis or other officers shall lend them the necessary aid and compulsory power. But the cadi or other officers of the Grand Signior may not try any difference between the merchants and subjects of the King, even if the said merchants should request it, and if perchance the said cadis should hear a case their judgement shall be null and void.

VI. Likewise, as regards religion, it has been expressly promised, concluded, and agreed that the said merchants, their agents, and servants, and all other subjects of the King shall never be molested nor tried by the cadis, sandjak-beys, or soubashis, or any person but the Sublime Porte only, and they can not be made or regarded as Turks (Muhammadans) unless they themselves desire it and profess it openly and without violence. They shall have the right to practice their own religion.

VII. Likewise, when one or more subjects of the King, having made a contract with a subject of the Grand Signior, taken merchandise, or incurred debts, afterwards depart from the State of the Grand Signior without giving satisfaction, [neither] the bailiff, consul, relatives, factor, nor any other subject of the King shall for this reason be in any way coerced or molested, nor shall the king be held responsible. Only His Majesty shall cause full justice to be done to the plaintiff as regards the person and goods of the debtor if they be found within his Kingdom and dominions.

VIII. Likewise, the said merchants, their agents, and servants, and other subjects of the King, their ships, boats, or other equipments, artillery, ammunition, and mariners shall not be seized, coerced, or used by the Grand Signior or other person against their pleasure and desire for any service or duty either on sea or land.

IX. Likewise, all merchants and subjects of the King in all parts of the Empire of the Grand Signior shall be allowed to freely dispose of their property by testament, and having died either a natural or violent death, all their effects -- money as well as other goods -- shall be distributed according to the testament; if they died intestate, the effects shall be turned over to the heir or his representative by and with the authority of the bailiff or consul at places where there may be one or the other, and where there is neither bailiff or consul the said effects shall be protected by the cadi of the locality under authority of the Grand Signior, having first of all made an inventory in the presence of witnesses; but where said bailiff or consul are present no cadi, beitulmaldji, or other person shall take possession of the effects, and if they should be in the hands of one of them and the bailiff or consul should demand them [here a line is apparently missing in the text] they may at once and without contradiction be entirely turned over to the said bailiff or consul of their representative, to be later handed to whom they belong.

X. Likewise as soon as the present treaty shall have been ratified by the Grand Signior and the King, all persons and subjects shall be set free and liberated who may, respectively, be bought slaves, prisoners of war, or otherwise detained, both in the hands of the said sovereigns or of their subjects, galleys, ships, and all other places and countries owing allegiance to the said sovereigns, on the demand and statement of the ambassador, bailiff, or consul of the King, or persons delegated by them; and if any of the said slaves should have changed his faith and religion he shall nevertheless be free. And, especially, henceforth reciprocally neither the Grand Signior nor the King, their captains, soldiers, tributary subjects, or mercenaries, shall or may in any manner, on sea or land, take, buy, sell, or detain as a slave any prisoner of war.

XV. No subject of the King who shall not have resided

for 10 full continuous years in the dominions of the Grand Signior shall or can be forced to pay tribute, Kharadj, Avari, Khassabiye, nor to guard neighboring land, storehouses of the Grand Signior, work in an arsenal, nor perform any other forced service. In the dominions of the King reciprocal rights shall be granted to the subjects of the Grand Signior.

XVI. Likewise the Grand Signior and the King of France shall within six months exchange the confirmation of the present treaty in valid and due form, with the promise to observe it, and the order to all their lieutenants, judges, officers, and subjects to observe it without bad faith and in all its points; and in order that nobody should plead ignorance, this treaty, after the confirmations have been exchanged, shall be published at Constantinople, Alexandria, Marseille, Narbonne, and other principal cities and ports of the jurisdiction, kingdoms, and states of the said sovereigns.

II. Shah `Abbas Privileges to Europeans

(Sir John Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. I: London: J. Murray, 1815, 352-53. Permission pending))

Our absolute commandment, will, and pleasure, is, that our countries and dominions shall be, from this day, open to all Christian people, and to their religion: and in such sort, that none of ours, of any condition, shall presume to give them any evil word. And, because of the amity now joined with the princes that profess Christ, I do give this patent for all Christian merchants, to repair and traffic, in and through our dominions, without disturbances or molestations of and Duke, Prince, governor, or captain, or any, of whatsoever office or quality, or ours; but that all merchandise that they shall bring, shall be so privileged, that none, of any dignity or authority, shall have power to look unto it: neither to make inquisition after, or stay, for any use or person, the value of one asper. Neither shall our religious men, of whatsoever sort they be, dare disturb them, or speak in matters of their faith. Neither shall any of our justices have power over their persons or goods, for any cause or act whatsoever.

If by chance a merchant shall die, none shall touch any thing that belongeth unto him; but if the merchant have a companion, he shall have power to take possession of those goods. But if by any occasion he be alone, only with his servants, the governor or whomsoever shall be required by him in his sickness, shall be required by him in his sickness, shall be answerable for all such goods unto any of his nation, which shall come to require them. But if he die suddenly, and have neither companion nor servant, nor time to recommend to any what he would have done, then the governor of that place shall send the goods to the next merchant of his nation, which shall be abiding in any parts of our dominions.

And those within our kingdoms and provinces having power over our tolls and customs, shall receive nothing, or dare to speak for any receipt from any Christian merchant.

And if any such Christian shall give credit to any of our subjects, of any condition whatsoever, he shall, by this patent of ours, have authority to require any qadi, or governor, to do him justice, and thereupon, at the instant of his demand, shall cause him to be satisfied.

Neither shall any governor, or justice, of what quality so ever he be, dare take any reward of him, which shall be to his expense: for our will and pleasure is, that they shall be used, in all our dominions, to their own full content, and that our kingdoms and countries shall be free unto them.

That none shall presume to ask them for what occasion they are here.

And although it has been a continual and unchangeable use in our dominions every year to renew all patents, this patent, notwithstanding, shall be of full effect and force forever, without renewing, for me and my successors, not to be changed.

III. Letters From Barbary

(*Letters From Barbary 1576-1774, Arabic Documents in the Public Record Office*, Translated and annotated by J.F.P. Hopkins, Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1982. pp.10-11, 16-1, permission pending.)

A. Zayday to James I
Marrakesh, 18 Rabi II 1018/21 July 1609

What necessitates this letter is that the merchants of your country who travel for trade and have made fast their tent-ropes to the firm pegs of our sanctuary and the protection of our justice have petitioned our Highness that certain emissaries of Castile with you have sequestrated some of their goods in the way of sugar there, claiming that that belongs to the merchants of Castile, and that these complaints have obtained it only by way of brigandage, and have gained possession of it through fraud and deceit. Be it known to you that this country protected by God's power is defended with respect to its frontiers and plains and reliable as to its laws and regulations, so that no intelligence may imagine or mind conceive that merchants or anyone else might contrive to commit brigandage in any way whatsoever. That sugar belonging to these merchants there, which has been sequestered, is part of that which they obtained from this lofty presence by way of commercial dealing, so that it came into their possession in exchange for goods which our lofty side took over by way of dealings which are commonly employed in all countries of the world. None of this may be denied. When you leave the way open to merchants for this sort of pretext your country will suffer thereby more than the countries of others because, when they learn of the sequestration of their goods and the futility of their trade and the obstacles to their dealings, they will desist from bringing goods to your country and avoid the territory of your land. As for this country of ours (thanks be

to God) it is the halting-place of all kinds of traders flocking to it from various lands, wrapped in the cloaks of justice and the cuirasses of immunity in which they may have permanent confidence, and by which they will be secure in their goods as long as era succeeds era and night follows day. It does not depend (thanks be to God) on any kind of merchants nor is it in need in any of its dealings of those who travel for trade. Nay, those who arrive from far horizons and the hosts of those concerned with caravans, when they descry the fire of our justice and equity in this neighborhood and the obtaining of their rights without reckoning, will begin to flock to our country like moths. How they will be refreshed by our compassion and tenderness towards them! ...We have addressed you concerning their rights in this rescript (*mudraj)* which explains the facts, so that you may know your persistence in this sort of act concerning the rights of merchants will upset the well-being of your country and stunt its growth whether in things inherited or newly acquired -- but this is a matter for your own right judgement, so do what you consider to be in your interest.

This is what necessitated this letter. Written on the 18th of Rabi II in the year 1018 (AH).

B. Muhammad al-Asghar to Charles I
4 Ramadan 1050/20 December 1640

Its motive is to inform you that on this date your letter reached us to the effect that your servant Robert Blake had left a number of horses here in the port of Asfi and that we should order our servants to allow the horses to go on board ship. With respect to this, Blake has lied to you, for he did not leave in the port even one horse, let alone horses. This is all a part of his wickedness and great deviousness. When he arrived in this country for the purpose of trade he gave us good service and advice and told us that you wished that there should be a truce with us. ...Blake came as an emissary on your behalf with your letter. We ratified that with him and he remained with us here for some time. We sent with him our most noble servant the *qa'id* Muhammad b. 'Askar with our letter to you as we used to write to you concerning the armaments and the goods. He returned to us with your reply in which you mentioned that you were on campaign at that moment and that you had deputed someone to carry this out. Subsequently Blake came to the port of Asfi and did not wish to disembark nor would he agree to do so, and wrote to us that we should send to him somebody to speak with him. So we sent one who had a meeting with him and he gave him your letter which you had written to us. We perused it and were apprised by it of the armaments and goods which you had dispatched to us. But Blake said that he could not unload any of the goods until he was paid the freight on it, namely 1500 *ghiraras* of wheat. We replied that the question of wheat was difficult and that we would give him the freight in money. But he refused and remained thus for many days. Then he asked for 15000 *uqiyyas*, where we gave 15000 *uqiyyas* in full. He proceeded to agree times for the unloading of the goods for days, but then set sail and departed without bidding farewell. We were distressed at this affair and its emanating from him despite his being your emissary, so on that account we inform you so that you may be aware about him and see all the letters which he wrote to us in his own hand during the days when he was in port. ...When he came with our slave the *basha* Judar he told him that he had spent on him during the time of his stay with you 18000 *uqiyyas* and that he had chartered the ship which brought him for 60000 *uqiyyas*. We gave all of that to him and paid it to him in money and wheat and feathers and sugar. As for the ships about which a truce was signed to the effect that they would not come to the ports of the land of the enemy, they are coming continually to the land of the enemy and have not ceased to come to it despite your letters in our possession to that effect and [to the effect] that you have issued a proclamation in your country that they are to be forbidden. Nevertheless they come to these ports and have not ceased from doing so at all. We are astonished at this matter on your part and are exceedingly amazed. We inform you of it so you may be well aware of it. Those very armaments which he brought from you with the goods are being offered for sale by their possessor in the fortress of Almunecar and in other ports. We desire that you send us a reply about these matters. For this reason was it necessary to write to you on the Fourth of the month of Ramadan in the year One thousand and fifty.

IV. The Turco-Ragusan Relationship

(Nicolaas H. Biegman, *The Turco-Ragusan Relationship: According to the Firmans of Murad III (1575-1595) Extant in the State Archives of Dubrovnik*, The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1967, pp.107-109, 115-116, 118, 121-122, permission pending)

This reading provides primary source material and some analysis of its meaning in the reciprocal relations between the Ottoman empire and its vassal Ragusan states in Dubrovnik (Yugoslavia).

Authors note: In addition to the stipulations and various rights derived from the Charter, some favors were accorded by the Sultan to the Republic, the most important of which was permission to export from the Empire certain commodities which were normally forbidden. Chief amongst these was grain; followed by olive oil, wax, leather and skins.

Turkish law placed export embargos upon two categories of articles. Namely, strategic goods and certain raw materials.

The embargo on strategic goods was a logical consequence of the Hanafi doctrine, which claimed that armistice was the very best that could exist between Dar al-Islam (lands of Islam) and Dar al-Harb (lands of war -- anywhere not under the rule of Islam). Therefore, it was

important not to supply the "enemy" -- even during times of peace -- with articles that might strengthen his military potential. The most important contraband items included horses, iron, various weapons, salpetre, lead, gunpowder, and pitch. Grain, too, might be numbered among these commodities; though Turkey's own needs were an important factor.

The second category of articles included raw materials such as wool, yarn, cotton, leather and skins, needed in considerable quantity by the domestic industry. The export of these articles was not so strongly prohibited as that of strategic goods.

No nation other than the Ragusan, however, was allowed to buy grain. Due to the chronic shortage of grain which has been in existence since the middle of the 16th century (caused by a decrease of the acreage seeded with corn during that period), one of the most difficult problems of the Ottoman government was supplying this item to both the army and the big cities. In the coastal regions, moreover, there was illegal buying on a large scale by, or at any rate bound for, Christian Europe. This was a result of the maximum prices for grain and other foodstuff, which were established from time to time by the cadis at an uneconomically low level, so that buying up grain and selling to Dar al-Harb was extremely profitable. Hence, along the coasts from Bosnia down to Egypt there was extensive smuggling of "forbidden commodities" -- first amongst which was grain. Turkish officials and local feudatories were often actively engaged in these activities, resulting in frequent famine in several parts of the Ottoman lands.

Probably this trade could not have assumed such dimensions had not the sudden flow of precious metals from America considerably increased the purchasing power of the Europeans. As the new silver reached Turkey at a much slower pace, it had become a "cheap country" in comparison with the countries on the North-western Mediterranean.

Dubrovnik, for the greater part situated on bare and rocky land, had to import nearly all the grain needed for its population. The principal suppliers of wheat and millet were certain regions on the Balkan Peninsula situated in present-day Albania and Greece, and southern Italy -- chiefly Apulia and Sicily; though the Ragusans may have gone as far as Asia Minor and beyond. Occasionally, too, rice was bought from Egypt.

After the Turkish conquest of the Balkans, Dubrovnik obtained permission to continue buying grain in those parts, but only for its own use, and was strictly forbidden to sell it to Dar al-Harb. From that time on, the Ragusans managed almost every year to get a certain amount of grain from the Empire even when all export was forbidden.

Following are actual <u>firmans</u> (proclamations) issued from the Sultan's court to the Ottoman administrators (Emin, Amil, Sancakbey) in Dubrovnik concerning specific requests (arz-i-hal) received from the Ragusan people in Dubrovnik.

A. Letter Number 36

Constantinople 9.7.988 H. 20.8.1580 A.D.
To the Inspector (*Mufetti*ş) of the *mukata'at* of Vlora; the Nazir of Vlora *AT N* XII (legalized copy)

The Beys of Dubrovnik have sent a man to the Gate of Felicity, and made known that, being very much in need of grain for their own livelihood, they ask 2000 *mudd* of wheat and 1500 *mudd* of millet to be sold to them from the Imperial Domains in the sancaks of Vlora and Elbasan, [to be paid for] with their own money according to the market price of the day, and to be loaded into their own ship without anybody being allowed to molest them on their way back to Dubrovnik.

Well, it is the Sultan's command that this quantity be granted from the Domains.

He has ordered that, whatever quantity of wheat and millet there may be in the Imperial Domains of those sancaks, the addresses are to sell the said amount to the Ragusans according to the price of the day and for their own money, have it loaded into their own ship, and let them go with their men to Dubrovnik;

that from whichever *emin's* or *'amil's* domain it be bought, they are to write it into his accounts, put all the money into a purse, seal it and have it forwarded to the Sublime Court along with the rest of what is due to the Sultan;

that they are not to allow anyone to interfere with their men on the way back;

that they are not to allow one more grain of wheat or millet to be sold then has been apportioned;

that in accordance with the law, they are to cause a customs duty of 2% to be collected, and not to allow the customs officer to collect it for a second time;

but that they are to be extremely careful not to allow that the grain be sold [through] to other places or to the misbelievers.

If the *emin's* or *'amil's* find a way to sell more than the fixed amount, or fail to pay the money into the Treasury, the addresses will be entirely responsible.
Legalized by Mehmed b. Mustafa Kadi -- asker of Rumelia.

B. Letter Number 39

Constantinople 27.10.998 H. 29.8.1590 A.D.
To the Sancakbey of Vlora the cadis (in the sancak) of Vlora AT K 165 (original)

The Beys of Dubrovnik have sent a man with an *arz-i hal*, requesting 3000 *mudd* of wheat, to be loaded into Ragusan ships; the wheat not being full of dust and straw,

but sieved and clean;

mentioning that in 990,993 and 994 firmans were issued by the *Divan-I humayaun* and the *Maliye*, granting the sale of the same quantity from that sancak.

The Sultan has ordered that they may buy this quantity;

that people who are not willing to sell or [try to] prevent [the sale], are to be reported;

but that the addresses are to be careful not to allow grain to be sold to another region (*vilayet*) or to *Dar al-Harb*, lest they be deposed.

C. Letter Number 44

Constantinople 13.10.1002 H. 2.7.1594 A.D.

To the Inspector of the *mukata'at* [The Cadi] of Larisa; the Sancakbey of Navpaktos; the Cadis of Velestinon and Farsala *AT N* XIII (legalized copy)

As the Beys of Dubrovnik have, since olden times, displayed devotion towards the Gate of Felicity, and have [always] delivered their tribute since the time of Sultan Mehmed [II], it has been a custom that as a reward, 3000 *mudd* of millet is sold to them from the Imperial Domains belonging to the *mukata'at* of the Second *Sikk*.

Now the Beys have submitted an *'arz-i hal*, stating that because they are in want of grain they request 3000 *mudd* of millet from the domains belonging to the ports of Volos, Almiros, Atlandi, Patras, and Vailikon in accordance with their Charter and with firmans issued by the *Maliye* in 992, 994, and 999.

The Sultan commanded by a *hatt-I humayun* that 3000 *mudd* of millet was to be sold from those domains, but that a firman was to be issued, ordering that when the ships would be loaded with grain, the addresses were to report this to the Threshold of Felicity, and not to authorize them to leave until a cavus would have come (back) expressly to give permission.

He has ordered that the Ragusans buy the grain, but that the addresses are speedily to register and to report to the Porte how much millet has been collected, and for how much money;

that henceforward no permission is to be given before the arrival of the cavus;

that if any millet is sold in addition to what has been apportioned, or if somehow grain is sent to *Dar al-Harb*, or permission is given too soon, the Inspector will be gravely responsible, and the Sancakbey and Cadis will be dismissed;

and that the Ragusans are to buy the grain at once, in accordance with their Charter and firmans issued by *Maliye* and *Divan*, and the *emins*, *'amils* and others are not to meddle.

V. Hajji Khalifah

(Anthology of Islamic Literature, edited by James Kritzeck, New York: Holt, Rinehard & Winston, 1964, pp.352-360, permission pending. Translated by G.L. Lewis)

Katib Chelibi, who later called himself Hajji Khalifah, was a Turkish writer of the seventeenth century. He served the Ottoman state as an official in the control of the cavalry, and participated in several military campaigns. After 1635, a substantial inheritance enabled him to pursue a life of scholarship, which he preferred, although he did not completely retire from public service. He devoted more than twenty years to the compilation of his Kashf al-Zumun (The Removal of Doubts), a vast encyclopedia and bibliography. Hajji Khalifah died in Istanbul in 1657, while drinking a cup of coffee.

- ***Tobacco***

At one time I drafted an essay on the tobacco-smoking now practiced by all mankind, but I never made a fair copy of it. What is offered here is a rough draft embodying the gist of that essay. Before we examine the matter, what was the cause of the appearance of this practice? Let us explain this in a didactic passage.

The Facts. Some time in the latter half of the ninth century of the Hijra, after some Spanish ships had discovered the New World, the Portuguese and English were exploring its shores to find a passage from the Eastern to the Western Ocean. [Upon reaching an island near the mainland, they] noticed a kind of leaf was burning. A doctor smelled it, and as it was hot of scent he began to inhale it, using an instrument resembling a pipe. It did him good, so he took a large quantity of the leaf and used it throughout their stay. The ship's company saw this and, regarding it as a beneficial medicine, followed the doctor's example and loaded themselves up with the leaf. One saw another and they all began to smoke. When the ship arrived in England, their habit spread, through France to the other lands. People tried it, not knowing its origin, and not considering that it was smoked for a serious purpose. Many became addicts, putting it in the category of stimulating drugs. It has become a thing common to East and West, and no one has succeeded in suppressing it.

From its first appearance in Turkey, which was about the year 1010/1601, to the present day, various preachers have spoken against it individually, and many of the Ulema have written tracts concerning it, some claiming that it is a thing forbidden, some that it is disapproved. ...The late Sultan Murad IV, towards the end of his reign, closed down the coffeehouses in order to shut the gate of iniquity, and also banned smoking, in consequence of certain outbreaks of fire. People being undeterred, the imperial anger necessitated the chastisement of those who, by smoking, committed the sin of disobedience to the imperial command. Gradually His Majesty's severity in suppression increased, and so did people's desire to smoke, in accordance with the saying, "Men desire what is forbidden," and many thousands of men were sent to the abode of nothingness.

When the Sultan was going on the expedition against Baghdad, at one halting-place fifteen or twenty leading men

of the Army were arrested on a charge of smoking, and were put to death with the severest torture in the imperial presence. Some of the soldiers carried short pipes in their sleeves, some in their pockets, and they found an opportunity to smoke even during the executions. At Istanbul, no end of soldiers used to go into the barracks and smoke in the privies. Even during the rigorous prohibition, the number of smokers exceeded that of the non-smokers.

Now there are a number of possible ways of considering the subject, which we shall briefly set forth.

1) The first possibility is that the people may be effectively prevented from smoking and may give it up. This possibility must be set aside, for custom is second nature. Addicts are not made to give up in this way.

2) Is this tobacco found to be good or bad by the intelligence? If we set aside the fact that addicts think it good, common sense judges it to be bad. The criterion of goodness and badness may be either the intelligence or the sacred law. By either criterion it is bad, for the conditions necessary for intellectual approval are lacking in it, while the grounds for canonical disapproval are present in it.

3) Its good and harmful effects. As to its harmful effects there is no doubt. It ends by becoming a basic need of the addict, who does not consider its evil consequences. Its harmful physical effect too is established, for tobacco is medically noxious in that it makes turbid the aerial essence....

Apart from the noxious effects of the corruption of the aerial essence, the smoker must belong to one of two classes: he is either of moist temperament or of dry. In either case his temperament may be either healthy or out of sorts. If the man of moist temperament is healthy, smoking is suitable and agreeable to him. But certainly for most people some dryness is necessary. If he be out of sorts, and if this be due to excessive moisture, smoking will act as a remedy for him. For the man of dry temperament, however, it is in no wise permissible. It will increase his dryness and will constantly desiccate the moisture of his lungs. There is absolutely no foundation for the claim some people make that it is good for scurvy; this is idle chatter which has no point of contact with the circle of the laws of medicine.

4) Is it innovation? It may be conceded that it is innovation in the eyes of the sacred law, for it appeared in recent times, nor is it possible to class it as "good innovation." That it is innovation in the light of intelligence is sure, for it is not a thing that has been seen or heard of by the intelligence ever since the time of Adam. There is a tale that it first appeared in the hallowed time of 'Umar (God be pleased with him) and that many thousands of men were killed because of it. This is without foundation, a fiction of the fanatical.

5) Is it abominable? There is no word of justification for this, in reason or in law. This view is accepted by the generality of people. For a thing to reach the stage of the abominable, it is an essential condition that it be used to excess. The scent of tobacco-smoke and the scent of the tobacco-leaf are not intrinsically abominable. It is perhaps not irrelevant to point out that the scent of burning tobacco has curative uses as an inhalant. But an evil odor arises in the mouth of the heavy smoker, by comparison with which, in the nostrils of the non-smoker, halitosis is as aloes-wood an ambergris.

To sum up, just as there is abomination in the eating of raw onion, garlic, and leek, which inevitably produce an abominable odor in the mouth, so also heavy smoking is disapproved as producing a smell in the mouth, the body, and the clothing. And the reason is that there is incontestable offence in both cases....

6) Is it canonically forbidden? It is written in the manuals of jurisprudence that in any particular matter where there is no decisive ruling in the law, the jurisconsult may exercise his own discretion....

7) Is it canonically indifferent? As the rise of smoking is of recent occurrence, there is no explicit treatment or mention of it in the legal manuals. This being so, some say that in accordance with the principle that permissibility is the norm -- i.e. that in the absence of a clear prohibition things are permitted -- smoking is permitted and lawful.

The judge who decides on the basis of some such legal principle as "Choose the lesser of the two evils" is committing no sin and may perhaps acquire merit and reward for delivering a believer from sin....

Admonition. Some may ask, Can one thing be simultaneously indifferent, disapproved, and forbidden? Is this not self-contradictory? The answer is that it is possible, with a change of aspect and viewpoint. For example, while it is permissible to eat *baklava*, it is forbidden to do so when one is sated, as this is harmful.

Hereafter the most necessary and useful thing for the rulers of the Muslims to do is this: they should farm out exclusive concessions to deal in tobacco-leaf in every part of the Guarded Domains, appointing custodians. Tobacco will bear a fixed contribution to the Treasury of 20 piasters per *okka*. It should be sold in one appointed place in every city and should not be allowed in the markets at large. This will yield 100 million aspers a year....

- ***Coffee***

This matter too was much disputed in the old days. It originated in Yemen and has spread, like tobacco, all over the world. Certain sheikhs, who lived with their dervishes in the mountains of Yemen, used to crush and eat the berries, which they called *qalb wabun*, of a certain tree. Some would roast them and drink their water...

It came to Asia Minor by sea, about 950/1543, and met with a hostile reception, fetwas being delivered against it. For they said, apart from its being roasted, the fact that it is drunk in gatherings, passed from hand to hand, is suggestive of loose living. It is related of Abu'l Su'ud Efendi that he had holes bored in the ships that brought it, plunging their cargoes of coffee into the sea. The fetwas, the talk, made no

impression on the people. One coffeehouse was opened after another, and men would gather together, with great eagerness and enthusiasm, to drink. Drug addicts in particular, finding it a life-giving thing, which increased their pleasure, were willing to die for a cup.

Since then, muftis pronounced it permissible.The late Bostanzade delivered a detailed fetwa, in verse.Thus coffeehouses experienced varying fortunes for several years, now banned, now permitted.After the year 1000/1591-1592, they ceased to be prohibited. They were opened everywhere, freely; on every street corner a coffeehouse appeared.

Storytellers and musicians diverted the people from their employments and working for one's living fell into disfavor. Moreover the people, from prince to beggar, amused themselves with knifing one another. Towards the end of 1042/1633, the late Ghazi Sultan Murad, becoming aware of the situation, promulgated an edict, out of regard and compassion for the people, to this effect: Coffeehouses throughout the Guarded Domains shall be dismantled and not opened hereafter. Since the, the coffeehouses of the capital have been as desolate as the heart of the ignorant. In the hope that they might be reopened, their proprietors did not dismantle them for a while, but merely closed them. Later the majority, if not all of them, were dismantled and turned into other kinds of shops. But in cities and towns outside Istanbul, they are opened just as before. As has been said above, such things do not admit of a perpetual ban.

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Crossroads of Diplomacy

In the following three readings we see the perceptions and misperceptions of diplomats representing their home nations in a foreign land, and we see the influence of royalty in diplomacy and the cultural influence that derives from diplomatic contact.

I. The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin De Busbecq

(The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin De Busbecq Imperial Ambassador At Constantinople 1554-1562 Newly Translated From The Latin of the Elzevir Edition of 1633 By Edward Seymour Forster, Oxford: Clarendon Press pp.59-61, 90, 108-112, 120-121, permission pending.)

The Sultan's head-quarters were crowded by numerous attendants, including many high officials. In all that great assembly no single man owed his dignity to anything but his personal merits and bravery; no one is distinguished from the rest by his birth, and honour is paid to each man according to the nature of the duty and offices which he discharges. Thus there is no struggle for precedence, every man having his place assigned to him in virtue of the function which he performs. The Sultan himself assigns to all their duties and offices, and in doing so pays no attention to wealth or the empty claims of rank, and takes no account of any influence or popularity which a candidate may possess; he only considers merit and scrutinizes the character, natural ability, and disposition of each. Thus each man is rewarded according to his deserts, and offices are filled by men capable of performing them. In Turkey every man has it in his power to make what he will of the position which he is born and of his fortune in life. Those who hold the highest posts under the Sultan are very often the sons of shepards and herdsmen, and, so far from being ashamed of their birth, they make it a subject of boasting, and the less they owe to their forefathers and to the accident of birth, the greater is the pride which they feel. They do not consider that good qualities can be conferred by birth or handed down by inheritance, but regard them partly as the gift of heaven and partly as the product of good training and constant toil and zeal. Just as music or mathematics or geometry, is not transmitted to a son and heir, so they hold that character is not hereditary, and that a son does not necessarily resemble his father, but his qualities are divinely infused into his bodily frame. Thus, among the Turks, dignities, offices, and administrative posts are the rewards of ability and merit; those who are dishonest, lazy, and slothful never attain to distinction, but remain in obscurity and contempt. This is why the Turks succeed in all that they attempt and are a dominating race and daily extend the bounds of their rule. Our method is very different; there is no room for merit, but everything depends on birth; considerations of which alone open the way to high official positions. On this subject I shall perhaps say more in another place, and you must regard these remarks as intended for your ears only....

I have six female camels, which I have bought to carry baggage; but my real object is to take them back for my royal masters, in the hope that they may be induced by the consideration of their usefulness to breed this kind of animal. There are two things from which, in my opinion, the Turks derive the greatest advantage and profit, rice among cereals and camels among beasts of burden; both are admirably adapted to the distant campaigns which they wage. Rice keeps well and provides a wholesome food, a little of which suffices to feed a large number. Camels can carry very heavy burdens, endure hunger and thirst, and require very little attention. One driver is enough to look after six camels; and no animal is more amenable to discipline. The camel does not require combing or scraping, but, like one's clothes, can be kept clean by brushing. They lie, or, to be more accurate, kneel on the bare ground and allow themselves to be loaded. If the burden is heavier than they can reasonably carry, they protest by grunting and refuse to get up....

The Sultan, when he sets out on a campaign, takes as many as 40,000 camels with him, and almost as many

baggage-mules, most of whom, if his destination is Persia, are loaded with cereals of every kind, especially rice. Mules and camels are also employed to carry tents and arms and warlike machines and implements of every kind. They are careful, however, to avoid touching the supplies which they carry with them as long as they are marching against their foes, but reserve them, as far as possible, for their return journey, when the moment for retirement comes and they are forced to retrace their steps through regions which the enemy has laid waste, or which the immense multitude of men and baggage animals has, as it were, scraped bare, like a swarm of locusts. It is only then that the Sultan's store of provisions is opened, and just enough food to sustain life is weighed out each day to the Janissaries and the other troops in attendance upon him. The other soldiers are badly off, if they have not provided food for their own use; most of them, having often experienced such difficulties during their campaigns -- and this is particularly true of the cavalry -- take a horse on a leading-rein loaded with many of the necessities of life. These include a small piece of canvas to use as a tent, which may protect them from the sun or a shower of rain, also some clothing and bedding and a private store of provisions, consisting of a leather sack or two of the finest flour, a small jar of butter, and some spices and salt; on these they support life when they are reduced to the extremes of hunger.... They thus contrive to live on short rations for a month or even longer, if necessary.... Sometimes, too, they have recourse to horseflesh; for in a great army a large number of horses necessarily dies, and any that die in good condition furnish a welcome meal to men who are starving. I may add that men whose horses have died, when the Sultan moves his camp, stand in a long row on the road by which he is to pass with their harness or saddles on their heads, as a sign that they have lost their horses, and implore his help to purchase others. The Sultan then assists them with whatever gift he thinks fit.

All this will show you with patience, sobriety, and economy the Turks struggle against the difficulties which beset them, and wait for better times. How different are our soldiers, who on campaign despise ordinary food and expect dainty dishes (such as thrushes and beccaficoes) and elaborate meals. If these are not supplied, they mutiny and cause their own ruin; and even if they are supplied, they ruin themselves just the same. For each man is his own worst enemy and has no more deadly foe than his own intemperance, which kills him if the enemy is slow to do so. I tremble when I think of what the future must bring when I compare the Turkish system with our own; one army must prevail and the other be destroyed, for certainly both cannot remain unscathed. On their side are the resources of a mighty empire, strength unimpaired, experience and practice in fighting, a veteran soldiery, habituation to victory, endurance of toil, unity, order, discipline, frugality, and watchfulness. On our side is public poverty, private luxury, impaired strength, broken spirit, lack of endurance and training; the soldiers are insubordinate, the officers avaricious; there is contempt for discipline; licence, recklessness, drunkenness, and debauchery are rife; and worst of all, the enemy is accustomed to victory, and we to defeat. Can we doubt what the result will be? Persia alone interposes in our favour; for the enemy, as he hastens to attack, must keep an eye on this menace in his rear. But Persia is only delaying our fate; it cannot save us. When the Turks have settled with Persia, they will fly at our throats supported by the might of the whole East; how unprepared we are I dare not say!...

I must now repeat another conversation which I had with Roostem, which will show you what a wide difference of religion exists between the Turks and Persians. He asked me once whether war was still going on between Kings of Spain and France. When I replied in the affirmative, he said, 'What right have they to wage war against one another, when they are bound by religious ties?' 'The same right,' I replied, 'as you have to go to war with the Persians; there are cities, provinces, and kingdoms, about which they are at quarrel and have recourse to arms.' 'The cases are not parallel,' replied Roostem, 'I assure you that we abhor the Persians and regard them as more unholy than we regard you Christians.'

II. The Report of Lello

Adapted from: Orhan Burian, The Report of Lello, Third English Ambassador to the Sublime Porte Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1952, pp 1-4 Permission pending)

Henry Lello was the English Ambassador in Constantinople from 1597 - 1607 and the third individual to be so assigned. His report focuses initially upon the office of the Grand Vizier and the series of persons occupying that office and the circumstances under which they came to power. Lello provides interesting insights on the machinations of the Sublime Porte in response to rising difficulties within the military, due particularly to delayed payments and devalued currency. This particular section presents one view of the Sultan's mother and her powers within the Ottoman system.

The Chief Vizier and Governor to Sultan Mehmet, Ibrahim Pasha, was deprived of his office within six months of my posting because he made a foolish blunder in conducting the wars in Hungary. The Captain and other soldiers of the Sultan's army sent a complaint against him to the Sultan. He would have lost his head had it not been for the meddlesome interference of the Queen mother, who completely ruled the Great Turk (the Sultan), her son, and dearly loved this Ibrahim Pasha (who was her son-in-law). Despite the Great Turk's anger, the Queen mother was able to extract from her son a pardon for Ibrahim, although he remained deprived of his place and in disgrace with the Great Turk.

A eunuch by the name of Hassan Pasha succeeded in his place, who indeed bought the position through the

influence of the Sultana Queen mother (she whooly ruled her son notwithstanding the Mufti and soldiers who complained of her to their king). She gave this Pasha orders, since he had control of the whole state, that he advise her son of no accident abroad or at home that might be displeasing to him for that always brought her son extreme melancholy. Thus, he understood nothing of troubles until the Mufti informed him of many bad accidents which happened abroad. Taking the cause of these accidents to be lack of advice from his Grand Vizier he had him imprisoned where he was strangled a few days later.

The Queen mother succeeded in bringing Ibrahim Pasha back into the Sultan's favor and he was asked to return to his former Regiment which was fighting wars in Hungary. Despite the Emperor's attempts to fool him once again, Ibrahim resolved to win the Great Turk's favor, and rejected the Emperor's intentions. He eventually prevailed in a strategic battle with great courage. Prior to this battle he was accounted a coward and a misfortunate, but was then held in great esteem with his master the Great Turk. Yet he could still not return (which was his only desire) because he had incurred and lost the favor of his mother-in-law the Queen mother. He had written the Great Turk how the soldiers and all the officers complained of the Queen mother for directing him and governing him to his great dishonor and disadvantage. She meddled and sold all the offices which belonged to him.

He ended there his days leaving in his place one Mehemet Passa his body while he was in the wars these following governed at home who married the second sister of the turk was Luogotente to Egrahim in Constantinople while he was absent in Hungary: but both very much discontented with the Ruling or rather over ruling of their mother-in-law the Queen mother as alike the whole estate especially the Spahies (soldiers) or horsemen for that she had begged of her son the Turk a certain yearly revenue called the Tefder or yearly tribute of every village in Asia and Greece for the grazing of their cattle. This revenue she gave unto a Jew woman which was the factory, favorite and chief counselor the Jew should bestow upon her Children and kindred. This moved the Spahies (supposed to be set on and counselled thereto by the two son-in-laws) to raise a mutiny in the City of Constantinople against the Queen mother and the Jew woman and by coming into the court by troops required of the Turk to deliver to them the head of the Jew woman being an evil member in his estate as alike to forbid his mother to meddle with estate business, which made both him and his mother tremble and being desirous to pacify them and to pursue the Jew woman offered unto them many gifts and rewards besides the Tef-der or tribute given from them all which would not content them without having her head and the heads of her three sons and the turk and his mother doubting to bring danger upon themselves in defending turned out of his palace. She fled for safety for herself and taking a boat at the back gate fled towards the Black Sea, but the soldiers having spies in every corner to prevent her fleeing, chased her and took her back. When they landed they set her upon an evil favored foul horse that carried in a frame upon his back and led her through the high streets to Halull Bassa his house or palace where the spahies were gathered in groups to have here delivered to them. As she came into the court, they cried, killer her, kill her, and furiously plucked her from the horse every one that could approach near thrust his dagger into her and some trod her under their feet, thus she being dispatched they would not depart until they had her sons.

III. The Imperial Harem

(Leslie P. Pierce: *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. pp.219-228, permission pending.)

In 1593 Elizabeth I, queen of England, sent the *valide sultan* (the mother of the Sultan) Safiye a jeweled portrait of herself. Six years later Safiye asked the English ambassador Henry Lello if she might have another likeness of the queen. Inquiring what she might give Elizabeth in return that would most please her, Safiye was told to send an outfit such as she herself might wear. Her gift included "two garments of cloth of silver, one girdle of cloth of silver, two handekerchers wrought with massy gould." Here was an intimate yet serious moment in the business of diplomacy among monarchs in the early modern world. Particularly prominent in the diplomatic activities of the empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were four Ottoman women: Hurrem, Nurbanu, Safiye, and Kosem.

The increasing seclusion of the royal family, men and women alike, meant that by the sixteenth century Ottoman women no longer functioned as ambassadors, but through the exchange of letters and gifts they still could create diplomatic channels across borders. Moreover, the more regular presence of European ambassadors in Istanbul in the later sixteenth century created a local arena for diplomatic activity. The majority of royal women's contacts were with European rulers and ambassadors; their activities suggest the considerable degree to which the Ottoman Empire was a member of the greater European diplomatic community in these years.

A striking feature of Ottoman women's diplomatic contact is the partisan nature of so much of it. The frequency with which women promoted the interests of their countries of origin is evidence that the notion that members of the slave elite were divorced from contact with their families and the land of their birth is a myth, at least for the most powerful.

The *Haseki* (the Sultan's first wife) as Diplomat

Through the voice Hurrem (Suleyman's first wife) was given in the diplomatic life of the empire her prestige was demonstrated to the empire's rivals. While Hurrem never undertook a personal embassy, she acted as the sultan's

voice in diplomatic correspondence. Her correspondence centered on two things: assurances of the sultan's peaceful intentions and the exchange of gifts. Since women's diplomatic roles seem to have been associated with suits for peace, it is possible that Suleyman purposely spoke through Hurrem when peace was his aim. Peace on the empire's frontiers was increasingly Suleyman's goal in the later years of his reign.

Diplomatic contacts with Hurrem's native Poland were frequent during Suleyman's reign. Poland sent more emissaries to the sultan -- eighteen in all -- than did any other power. Largely because of Hurrem's influence, Sigismund I, king of Poland, was able to maintain peace with the Ottomans. Hurrem enjoyed a private correspondence with his son, Sigismund II, who became king in 1548. Upon his accession she wrote personally to congratulate him. Later, responding to a letter from Sigismund, she wrote that she had transmitted to the sultan his assurances of friendship and that, in his pleasure over this news, Suleyman had responded, "the old king and I were like two brothers, and if it pleases God the Merciful, this king and I will be like son and father." Hurrem then assured Sigismund that she would be glad to petition the sultan on his behalf if he informed her of his wishes. She closed her letter by announcing that she was sending a gift of two pair of pajamas, six handkerchiefs, and a hand towel....

The *Valide Sultan* as Diplomat

The efforts of the *valide sultans* of the late sixteenth century, like those of Hurrem, were devoted largely to preserving peace. Their activities may have been strategically useful in keeping options open during a period of diplomatic difficulty for the Ottomans, who were embroiled in long and expensive campaigns on both the European and Safavid fronts in the last decades of the century. However, the *valide sultan* did not always represent the sultan's will and seems not to have hesitated to act in her own interests.

Perhaps the most constant feature of Nurbanu and Safiye's diplomatic efforts was support of the Republic of Venice. Because Venice was the European power most often the victim of Ottoman advance during this period, the two *valide sultans*' promotion of Venetian interests may have been tolerated as a useful means of conciliating the republic. Nurbanu's interest was at least partly personal: she was the illegitimate daughter of two prominent Venetian families, taken prisoner by the Ottoman admiral Hayreddin Pasha in 1537. According to the ambassador Contarini in 1583,

> [s]he... appears to have great affection for this Most Serene Republic, and wants to be recognized as such and to do what she can. She has done me many favors, and when I left, in addition to the customary honors done me as the representative of Your Serenity on numerous public occasions, she sent me [many gifts] and with affectionate words entreated me to keep them as a token of the esteem in which Her Highness held me, and of her extreme satisfaction (to use her exact words) with my conduct....

In the same year, perhaps at Contarini's urging, the Venetian Senate resolved by a vote of 131 to 5 to present a gift of two thousand sequins to Nurbanu Sultan for her good services to the republic. The French ambassador, Jacques de Germigny, complained to his sovereign of the *valide sultan's* partiality to Venice:

> Your Majesty will have seen from several dispatches the lack of good will that she has always demonstrated toward the conservation and maintenance of this friendship [that is, past good relations between France and the Ottoman Empire], whereas on the contrary the Venetian Lords obtain many good offices from her, as much because it is said that she is from their country as because of the grand and frequent presents they give her.

Shortly before her death, the *valide sultan* may have performed her greatest service to her homeland by preventing a possible Ottoman invasion of Crete, a Venetian possession. Upon learning that the admiral Kilic Ali Pasha planned to propose such an invasion as one of a number of possible plans for the following year, Nurbanu sent word to him that under no circumstances should war be waged against Venice, since that would bring more harm than good to the sultan's realm. In addition, she warned that in no way was the admiral to raise the possibility with Murad. On his way to his audience with the sultan, the admiral dropped the paper carrying the proposal, and when one of his attendants picked it up and returned it to him, he tore it up, saying that it was no longer of any use since the *valide sultan* opposed its contents.

Letters written by and to Nurbanu Sultan and Safiye Sultan in the late sixteenth century provide us with another perspective on the relations between Ottoman women and foreign courts. The correspondence was carried on at the highest level. Nurbanu communicated with the Venetian doge and the French dowager queen Catherine de Médicis (and perhaps others), while Safiye was in correspondence with Elizabeth of England. Nurbanu's Venetian letters are direct and brief, suggestive of an established and businesslike relationship between her and the government of the republic, in which she appears the dominant partner.... On another occasion she requested that Samuel Zevi, a doctor who served in the imperial palace, and several other Jewish subjects of the sultan be reimbursed for goods they had lost on a Venetian galleon. On behalf of her personal agent, the *kira* Esther Handali, she requested that the *kira's* son Salamon be permitted to sell some jewels by lottery in Venice.

Nurbanu's communication with Catherine de Médicis, the queen mother and regent for the French king Henry III, had the goal of promoting good relations between the Ottoman and French courts.

Catherine, who appears to have corresponded regularly with the sultan, wrote at least one letter to Nurbanu as well. Addressing her letter "from the Queen mother of the King to the Sultan Queen mother of the Grand Seigneur," she requested Nurbanu's help in the renewal of the Capitulations, trading privileges first granted to France in 1536.... The letters of Safiye to Elizabeth, like Nurbanu's correspondence with Catherine, were concerned with the maintenance of good relations. In this they resemble the letters written by Hurrem, and fall within the traditional mode of female diplomacy in the Islamic world. But Safiye's letters to Elizabeth also exhibit concern with the material, and in fact the purpose of their composition was principally to thank the queen for her gifts and to inform her of gifts being sent to her. This exchange of gifts between monarchs was a matter of no small political import. It was an aspect of the inseparability of regal consumption and display and the exercise of royal politics. The quality of a gift and the timing of its presentation could cause diplomatic comment. The four-year delay in the presentation of the English queen's gifts to Mehmed III and the *valide sultan* in honor of the sultan's succession caused difficulty for the embassy in Istanbul; the ambassador Barton informed his government of the splendid accession gifts given by the Venetians and urged that the English gifts be dispatched immediately. Conversely, a ruby and pearl tiara missing from Safiye's gift to Elizabeth of an Ottoman outfit provoked the English queen's comment; the tiara's eventual arrival at the English court put an end to a minor scandal and was noted in European diplomatic circles....

The very fact of communication among these four queens -- Nurbanu, Safiye, Elizabeth, and Catherine -- and the favors they asked of one another suggest the existence of a unique form of diplomatic contact in the last decades of the sixteenth century. These queens appear conscious of -- and perhaps deliberately cultivated -- their special communication as women. As mothers of rulers, Catherine, Nurbanu, and Safiye no doubt recognized the greater flexibility of power they enjoyed as influential presences at the heart of government without the restrictions of actual sovereignty. And Elizabeth may have valued the existence of this second channel of communication with the Ottomans, whom her government was so assiduously courting. Certainly the Ottoman sultan, bound by the protocols of inaccessibility, could not have communicated with another monarch with the directness displayed by the women's letters.

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Autobiographies of Jews in the Ottoman Empire

(Norma Schneider, ed.: *A Curriculum on Five Hundred Years of Turkish Jewish Experience: Major Aspects and the Present Day Significance*, Sponsored by the Quincentennial Foundation of Istanbul, n.d. pp.71-83, permission pending.)

I. *Don Joseph Nasi 1579*

My name is Don Joseph Nasi. I was born in Lisbon, Portugal, in 1524. In truth, until I settled in Istanbul in 1554 I was called by a different name, Joao Miguez. You see, my father, a professor of medicine at the University of Lisbon, was called a Marrano, although the Jews call those who were forced to convert to Christianity Conversos (converted ones), since the term Marrano has negative connotations. The Inquisition in Portugal was very hard on what were called "New Christians," relentlessly searching for indications that they may have reverted to Jewish practices. Our family, like other similar families, therefore had to be very careful to maintain a clear-cut Portuguese/Catholic exterior. Displaying a Portuguese name was an essential part of this charade. Thanks to the generosity and liberal policies of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent (ruled 1520-1566), I have been able to openly proclaim my Jewishness in the Ottoman Empire, and to again be known by my Hebrew name, Joseph Nasi.

My father died when I was only one year old. His sister, my aunt Dona Gracia Nasi, raised me. She was a very special, wonderful and magnanimous woman, from whom I learned a great deal. Dona Gracia, who was also a Converso, married a well-known and wealthy Jewish international banker. Upon his death in 1536, she took over his financial activities which she conducted with great skill, her acumen earning her an international reputation. The Hapsburg Emperor Charles V and King Francis I of France took considerable loans from her while she was still living in Portugal.

Unfortunately, however, when the Inquisition discovered my aunt's Judaic ways, she was forced to flee, first to Antwerp and then to Venice. But the Inquisition pursued her relentlessly until 1550, when the King of Spain interceded on her behalf, allowing her to renounce her conversion to Christianity and resume the practice of Judaism openly. Nonetheless, in 1558 she decided to settle in the more congenial and tolerant atmosphere of Istanbul. She felt that the Ottoman Empire would provide an environment that would not only allow her to use her skills and talents fully, but would also permit all Jews to practice Judaism without any reprisal. Soon after her arrival in Istanbul, my aunt had built up such an extensive import trade that she had to purchase her own fleet of ships.

Needless to say, I admire my aunt's financial abilities. However, what impresses and moves me the most about her is the devotion and charity that she always showed to her people. Even while she herself was being pursued by the Inquisition, she never stopped extending personal and

financial assistance to fellow Conversos in the same situation. Thus, in 1556 she succeeded in getting Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent to intercede with Pope Paul IV on behalf of Conversos who had been imprisoned in Ancona, Italy. Not only did my aunt expend her energies, political clout and wealth on protecting and saving her brethren, she also supported the Jewish poor, and promoted Jewish learning and culture. In addition to all this, she succeeded in receiving permission from Suleyman to rebuild the ancient city of Tiberias in the Holy Land.

I have spent all this time telling you about my aunt because in many ways what I've said about her could also be said about me. Moreover, I would be willing to wager all my possessions -- and they are quite extensive -- that future historians will judge Dona Gracia Nasi to be the most important Jewish woman to have lived in the Middle Ages.

Needless to say my Aunt Gracia has always wanted the best for me. During our stay in Antwerp, she supported me while I attended the University of Louvain, from which I graduated. After that I became an active partner in her bank as well as in her various financial and commercial ventures. It was through these activities that I befriended Emperor Charles V and his sister Mary, and also Emperor Maximilian of Holland.

Until her death in 1569, I worked with my aunt from my palace in Belvedair, expanding our international trade network and banking facilities, to protecting Conversos from the Inquisition and improving the political and economic lot of fellow Jews, and to encouraging Jewish learning and culture. God has granted me much success in these endeavors.

Because of my knowledge of European politics and my connections with European rulers, as well as my network of commercial agents in many of Europe's important cities, Suleyman the Magnificent appointed me as one of his chief diplomats. In 1562 I was the main negotiator in the peace talks between the Ottoman Empire and Poland. In the struggle for power that followed Suleyman's death, my aunt and I supported Selim II, and financed his rise to the position of Sultan. In 1569 I played a significant role in convincing the new Sultan to support the Revolt of the Notables in Holland against the Spanish Hapsburg King. In the same year I mediated an agreement between my Sultan and King Charles IV of France.

Sultan Selim II bestowed great honors on me for the services I most happily rendered him. He made me Duke of the Island of Naxos, and gave me control of its tax-farming. He gave me a monopoly in the trade of wine and of beeswax. Unfortunately, however, since I had to conduct my affairs from my palace, many of those I did business with became envious of my wealth and position in Selim's Court, and plotted against me during my extended absences. Indeed, one of my own physicians attempted to have me indicted as a spy. Fortunately the libel was uncovered before any permanent harm was done to my person or my reputation.

II. *Moshe Hamon 1546*

As a very proud but I hope, not conceited, person, I, Moshe Hamon would like to share my biography and that of my family with you. We Hamons have served as Court physicians and diplomats for more than a hundred years and, God willing, my son Joseph and his grandchildren will be doing the same in another hundred years. In the Golden Age of Spain, in the middle of the 15th century, my grandfather Yitzhak served as physician to King Abdullah of Granada.

Although my father Joseph was born in Granada in 1450, local anti-Jewish feelings made him leave there and settle in Istanbul, where his excellent reputation had preceded him and gained him the position of physician in the Court of Sultan Bayezid II (ruled 1481-1512) and Sultan Selim I (ruled 1512-1520). My father was such a devoted physician that, when Selim I decided to embark on a campaign in Egypt, he felt it his duty to accompany the Sultan.

Unfortunately, my father fell ill during the trip back to Istanbul, and died in Damascus in 1518.

Because of my background and training, I was expected to continue my father's work with Selim I, and that is exactly what I did. As Selim was pleased with my work, I was asked to continue as Court physician when the most exciting Sultan that Turkey has ever had came to power. I'm referring, of course, to Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent (ruled 1520-1566). Although descriptions are somewhat exaggerated, and therefore misleading, believe me, in the case of Sultan Suleyman, the term "magnificent" is totally appropriate. For he is a mover of men, a builder, a man of letters, a warrior and a diplomat. All in all, it has been thrilling to work with him and be by his side.

My beloved Sultan Suleyman did not turn to me only for medical advice and treatment. He also employed my services as a diplomat, especially to important European embassies and rulers. I believe that one of my most important diplomatic achievements was the peace agreement that I negotiated between Turkey and Venice in 1540. Due to the high regard with which the Sultans viewed me, I was also often able to intercede on behalf of my fellow Jews. I'll mention only two examples of the ways in which I gladly aided them.

In 1530 there were attacks on my Jewish brethren in Anasya and Toket because local Muslims believed that we kill non-Jews in order to use their blood in our Passover celebration -- an accusation that does not even deserve the dignity of a response! Terribly disturbed by the news that Jews were being killed, especially since what they were accused of was so patently false, I decided to approach Sultan Suleyman and ask him to put a stop to the attacks and to any future blood libel. As I had hoped, the Sultan was more than sympathetic to me and my fellow Jews. Thus, he issued a firman [Sultanic decree] in which he provided his personal protection to those accused of such deals.

In 1552 I was able to obtain the Sultan's help in interceding on behalf of two courageous and magnanimous Portuguese Jews who had been forced to convert to Christianity, Dona Gracia Mendes and her nephew Don Joseph Nasi. When Dona Gracia and Don Joseph fled the Inquisition they ended up in Venice, but they had to flee from there as well to escape the long arm of the Inquisition, leaving most of their wealth and possessions behind. Upon my request, the Sultan convinced the Venetian authorities to send their possessions on to Istanbul, where they settled in the 1550's.

While accompanying Suleyman on his Persian campaign in 1534, I met a wonderful Jewish scholar named Rabbi Jacob Ben Yosef Tavus in Baghdad. Rabbi Tavus came back with me to Istanbul, where, with my support, he printed a Torah that included his translation of the Torah from Hebrew to Persian, as well as Rabbi Saadia Gaon's translation of it from Hebrew to Arabic. Of all my many possessions, I believe this Torah is the most precious. I also supported the building of a synagogue, which was named in my honor, as well as the yeshiva in it. Both mean a great deal to me. Indeed, being a patron of Jewish scholars and publishing the works of those great men has become a means of attaining spiritual and intellectual peace and permanence in a sea of court intrigue and violence.

III. Esther Kyra Handeli 1600

I, Esther Kyra Handeli, am writing this story of my life with the full and clear knowledge that, right now, a top regiment of the Sultan's army, the Janissaries, are bent upon killing me and two of my three sons. I am thankful that at least one of my sons had the good sense to become a Muslim and thereby save himself from the jealous and fanatical hands of some of those who inhabit the Sultan's Court.

Perhaps I should not complain so much. After all, I have led quite an exciting life during quite an exciting period of history. More importantly, the reasons why the Janissaries want to kill me is largely my own fault. Our rabbis have taught us that we should step away from those vested with authority and power, and that those who increase their possessions increase their worries -- and, I might add, trouble! So I am writing down my story in the hope that it will enlighten others. Perhaps it will also serve as a warning.

Here in Istanbul, in the latter part of the 16th century, the quality and authority of the Sultan has been weakening, and different factions of the Court have begun vying for power. As it turned out, in this Court the women of the Sultan's harem gained considerable power and influence. I had what I then considered -- and even today still consider -- the great fortune of being married to a wonderful husband and successful merchant, Eliyahu Handeli.

I used to help my husband in his business dealings, and what I enjoyed most was accompanying him to the Sultan's palace to sell the harem women precious jewels, stones and silks. This is how I began my climb to power and influence at the Sultan's Court.

Although I had the misfortune of becoming a widow at a fairly early age, my dear husband Eliyahu, may he rest in peace, left me and our children a generous inheritance. But, loving my work at the Court as I did, I continued selling to the women of the harem after his death. After some time --- I really can't explain why -- several of the more prestigious women developed warm and trusting feelings towards me. They began asking me to serve as a liaison with dignitaries and rulers outside the court. I developed especially close relations with the mother of the Sultan Murad III (ruled 1574-1595), as well as with Murad's favorite wife Safiya, from the Baffo family of Venice, whose son, Mohammad III, became Sultan in 1595 (ruled until 1603).

In all modesty I must admit that these relationships helped me become quite influential at the Court, and lead a very exciting life. And, when these magnificent women asked me to establish relations with European embassies in Istanbul, I was thrilled to accept their commission. I carried out this task so successfully that I soon became one of their most trusted kiras or female diplomatic and commercial agents. My diplomatic consul and services were being constantly sought. Perhaps my finest achievement was the agreement that I hammered out between Turkey and Venice. There is no doubt that without it there surely would have been blood shed by the armies of the two countries.

My efforts and successes were rewarded with great generosity on the part of the Court. I was empowered to determine official appointments and to distribute tax-farming concessions. Later, I was empowered to assign Ottoman fifes to whomever I wished.

Looking back at it now, with death staring me in the face, it occurs to me that all this power might have gone to my head, and that I might have abused it. Did I look out for my interests at the expense of the public I was serving? I know that the Janissaries rage at me for having made an army appointment not to their liking. Yes, it is probably true that I overstepped the boundaries of propriety in this instance.

I shall conclude now, as I believe I hear the hooves of the Janissaries' horses.

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Crossroads
The Colonial Period

I. Decree of the French Directory Instructing Napoleon to Launch the Egyptian Campaign, 12 April 1798

[Translated from the French text in Napoleon I, *Correspondance*, 4:52-53] J.C.Hurewitz, ed. *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics: A Documentary Record*, 2nd. Ed., vol. 1, New York& London: Yale University Press, 1975, pp. 115-116. Permission pending.

The Executive Directory,

Considering that the Beys who have seized the Government of Egypt have established intimate ties with the English and have placed themselves under [the English's] absolute dependence; that in consequence they have engaged in open hostilities and most horrible cruelties against the French, whom they vex, pillage, and assassinate daily;

Considering that it is the duty of the Republic to pursue its enemies wherever they may be and in any place where they engage in hostile activities;

Considering, in addition, that the infamous treason which enabled Britain to become mistress of the Cape of Good Hope has rendered access to India by the customary route very difficult to the vessels of the Republic, it is important to open to the Republican forces another route, to combat the satellites of the English Government, and to dry up the source of its corruptive riches;

Decrees as follows:

Art. 1. The General-in-Chief of the Army of the Orient shall direct the land and sea forces under his command to Egypt and shall take over that country.

Art. 2. He shall expel the English from all their possessions in the Orient which he can reach and shall in particular destroy all their factories [trading posts] on the Red Sea.

Art. 3. He shall have the Isthmus of Suez cut and shall take all necessary measures to insure to the French Republic the free and exclusive possession of the Red Sea.

Art. 4. He shall improve by all means at his disposal the conditions of the natives of Egypt.

Art. 5. He shall maintain, as much as this depends on him, good understanding with the Grand Seigneur [the Ottoman Sultan] and his immediate subjects.

Art. 6. The present decree shall not be printed.

II. Napoleon's Proclamation to the Egyptians, 2 July 1798

[Translated from the French text in Napoleon I, *Correspondance*, 4:191-192] J.C.Hurewitz, ed. *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics: A Documentary Record*, 2nd. Ed., vol. 1, New York & London, Yale University Press, 1975, pp. 116-117 Permission pending

Napoleon issued the following statement immediately upon his triumphant entry into Alexandria, proclaiming himself the protector of Islam and savior of the Egyptian people.

Bonaparte, member of the National Institute, General-in-Chief:

For a long time, the Beys governing Egypt have insulted the French nation and its traders. The hour of their punishment has come.

For too long, this assortment of slaves bought in Georgia and the Caucasus has tyrannized the most beautiful part of the world; but God, on Whom all depends, has ordained that their empire is finished.

Peoples of Egypt, you will be told that I have come to destroy your religion; do not believe it! Reply that I have come to restore your rights, to punish the usurpers, and that more than the Mamluks I respect God, his Prophet, and the Quran.

Tell them that all men are equal before God; that wisdom, talents, and virtues alone make them different from one another.

But, what wisdom, what talents, what virtues distinguish the Mamluks, that they should possess exclusively that which makes life pleasant and sweet?

Is there a good piece of land? It belongs to the Mamluks. Is there a pretty slave, a fine horse, a beautiful house? They belong to the Mamluks.

If Egypt is their farm, let them show the lease which God has granted them. But God is just and merciful to the people.

All Egyptians will be called to administer all places; the wisest, the best educated, and the most virtuous will govern, and the people will be happy.

Of old, there used to exist here, in your midst, big cities, big canals, a thriving commerce. What has destroyed all this, but Mamluk avarice, injustice and tyranny?

Qadis, Shaykhs, Imams, Çorbacis [commanders of the Janissary regiments], tell the people that we are the friends of the true Mussulmans.

Did we not destroy the Pope, who said that war should be waged against the Mussulmans? Did we not destroy the Knights of Malta, because those insane people thought that God wanted them to wage war against the Mussulmans? Have we not been for centuries the friends of the Grand Seigneur (may God fulfill his wishes!) And the enemies of his enemies? Have not the Mamluks; on the contrary, always revolted against the authority of the Grand Seigneur, whom they still ignore? They do nothing but satisfy their own whims.

Thrice happy are those who join us! They shall prosper

in wealth and rank. Happy are those who remain neutral! They will have time to know us and they will take our side.

But unhappiness, threefold unhappiness, to those who arm themselves for the Mamluks and fight against us! There shall be no hope for them; they shall perish.

Art. 1. All villages within a radius of three leagues from the locations through which the Army will pass will send a deputation to inform the Commanding General that they are obedient, and to notify him that they have hoisted the Army flag: blue, white, and red.

Art. 2. All villages taking up arms against the Army shall be burnt down.

Art. 3. All villages submitting to the Army will hoist, together with the flag of the Grand Seigneur, our friend, that of the Army.

Art. 4. The Shaykhs shall have seals placed on the possessions, houses, [and] properties belonging to the Mamluks, and will see that nothing is looted.

Art. 5. The Shaykhs, the Qadis, and the Imams shall continue to perform their functions. Each inhabitant shall remain at home, and prayers shall continue as usual. Each man shall thank God for the destruction of the Mamluks and shall shout Glory to the Sultan! Glory to the French Army, friend! May the Mamluks be cursed, and the people of Egypt blessed!

III. Al-Jabarti

(Al-Jabarti's Chronicle of the First Seven Months of the French Occupation of Egypt, Muharram-Rajab 1213 15 June-December 1798 Tarikh Muddat al-Faransis bi-Misr , edited and translated by S. Moreh, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975. pp. 35, 39-43, permission pending.)

Among this year's events: on Sunday the tenth of Muharram messengers arrived with letters bearing word that ten European ships had reached the port of Alexandria on Thursday the eighth, and had stopped at such a distance that the inhabitants of the port could see them. A short while later another fifteen ships had appeared. The inhabitants of the port had been awaiting their messenger when suddenly a caique came from these ships bearing ten men. When they reached the shore the people of the town spoke with them asking them who they were. They replied that they were English who had come to enquire about the French. The people of the town told them: 'No French are with us except those who reside in the port'. The English informed them that the French had set out from their country with a great fleet. They further said: 'We are their enemies and do not know in which direction they intend to sail. Perhaps they will attack you suddenly and you will not be able to repel them.' However, al-Sayyid Muhammad Kurayyim did not believe their words and thought them to be trickery. The English thereupon requested: 'Sell us water and provisions according to their value and we shall stay in our ships lying in wait for them. When they come we shall take care of the matter and save you the trouble'. The above-mentioned Muhammad Kurayyim declined their offer and said: 'We do not accept what you say nor will we give you anything'. Then he expelled them that God's will might be fulfilled.

During the course of these events gloom spread among the populace and was felt in the market-places and people withdrew to their homes from sunset onward. As a result the Agha and the Wali (question about accents, p.39) publicly called for the reopening of the markets and the coffee-houses and ordered that lamps outside the houses and shops be lit once again. This was done for two reasons: firstly, to dispel the gloom and create an atmosphere of ease and comfort and secondly, out of fear that an alien might have free rein in the town.

On Monday news arrived that the French had reached Damanhur and Rosetta, bringing about the flight of their inhabitants of Fuwwa and its surroundings. Contained in this news was mention of the French sending notices throughout the country demanding impost for the upkeep of the military. Furthermore they printed a large proclamation in Arabic, calling on people to obey them and to raise their 'Bandira'. In this proclamation were inducements, warnings, all manner of wiliness and stipulations. Some copies were sent from the provinces to Cairo and its text is:

In the name God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. There is no god but God. He has no son, nor has He an associate in His Dominion.

On behalf of the French Republic which is based upon the foundation of liberty and equality, General Bonaparté, Commander-in-Chief of the French armies makes known to all the Egyptian people that for a long time the Sanjaqs who lorded it over Egypt have treated the French community basely and contemptuously and have persecuted its merchants with all manner of extortion and violence. Therefore the hour of punishment has now come.

Unfortunately this group of Mamlūks, imported from the mountains of Circassia and Georgia have acted corruptly for ages in the fairest land that is to be found upon the face of the globe. However, the Lord of the Universe, the Almighty, has decreed the end of their power.

O ye Egyptians, they may say to you that I have not made an expedition hither for any other object than that of abolishing your religion; but this is a pure falsehood and you must not give credit to it, but tell the slanderers that I have not come to you except for the purpose of restoring your rights from the hands of the oppressors and that I more than the Mamlūks, serve God -- may He be praised and exalted -- and revere His Prophet Muhammad and the glorious Qur'an.

And tell them also that all people are equal in the eyes of God and the only circumstances which distinguish one from the other are reason, virtue, and knowledge. But amongst the Mamlūks, what is there of reason, virtue, and knowledge, which would distinguish them from others and qualify them alone to possess everything which sweetens life in this world? Wherever fertile land is found it is appropriated to the Mamlūks; and the handsomest female

slaves, and the best horses, and the most desirable dwelling-places, all these belong to them exclusively. If the land of Egypt is a fief of the Mamlūks, let them then produce the title-deed, which God conferred upon them. But the Lord of the Universe is compassionate and equitable toward mankind, and with the help of the Exalted, from this day forward no Egyptian shall be excluded from admission to eminent positions nor from acquiring high ranks, therefore the intelligent and virtuous and learned (*'ulamā)* amongst them, will regulate their affairs, and thus the state of the whole population will be rightly adjusted.

Formerly, in the lands of Egypt there were great cities, and wide canals and extensive commerce and nothing ruined all this but the avarice and the tyranny of the Mamlūks.

O ye Qādis, Shaykhs, and Imams; O ye Shurbājiyya and men of circumstance tell your nation that the French are also faithful Muslims, and in confirmation of this they invaded Rome and destroyed there the Papal See, which was always exhorting the Christians to make war with Islam. And then they went to the island of Malta, from where they expelled the Knights, who claimed that God the Exalted required them to fight the Muslims. Furthermore, the French at all times have declared themselves to be the most sincere friends of the Ottoman Sultan and the enemy of his enemies, may God ever perpetuate his empire! And on the contrary the Mamlūks have withheld their obedience from the Sultan, and have not followed his orders. Indeed they never obeyed anything but their own greed!

Blessing on blessing to the Egyptians who will act in concert with us, without any delay, for their condition shall be rightly adjusted, and their rank raised. Blessing also, upon those who will abide in their habitations, not siding with either of the two hostile parties, yet when they know us better, they will hasten to us with all their hearts. But woe upon woe to those who will unite with the Mamlūks and assist them in the war against us, for they will not find the way of escape, and no trace of them shall remain.

- **First Article**

All the villages, situated within three hours' distance from the places through which the French army passes, are required to send to the Commander-In-Chief some persons, deputed by them, to announce to the aforesaid, that they submit and that they have hoisted the French flag, which is white, blue, and red.

- **Second Article**

Every village that shall rise against the French army, shall be burnt down.

- **Third Article**

Every village that submits to the French army must hoist the French flag and also the flag of our friend the Ottoman Sultan, may he continue for ever.

- **Fourth Article**

The Shaykh of each village must immediately seal all property, houses, and possessions, belonging to the Mamlūks, making the most strenuous effort that not the least thing be lost.

- **Fifth Article**

The Shaykhs, Qādis, and Imams must remain at their posts, and every countryman shall remain peaceably in his dwelling, and also prayers shall be performed in the mosques as customary and the Egyptians, all of them shall render thanks for God's graciousness, praise be to Him and may He be exalted, in extirpating the power of the Mamlūks, saying with a loud voice, May God perpetuate the glory of the Ottoman Sultan! May God preserve the glory of the French army! May God curse the Mamlūks and rightly adjust the condition of the Egyptian people.

Written in the Camp at Alexandria on the 13th of the month Messidor (the 6th year) of the founding of the French Republic, that is to say toward the end of the month Muharram in the year [1213] of the Hijra [2 July 1798].

It ends here word for word. Here is an explanation of the incoherent words and vulgar constructions which he put in his miserable letter.

His statement 'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. There is no god but God. He has no son, nor has He an associate in His Dominion.' In mentioning these three sentences there is an indication that the French agree with the three religions, but at the same time they do not agree with them, nor with any religion. They are consistent with the Muslims in stating the formula 'In the name of God', in denying that He has a son or an associate. They disagree with the Muslims in not mentioning the two Articles of Faith, in rejecting the mission of Muhammad, and the legal words and deeds which are necessarily recognized by religion. They agree with the Christians in most of their words and deeds, but disagree with them by not mentioning the Trinity, and denying the mission and furthermore in rejecting their beliefs, killing the priests, and destroying the churches. Then, their statement 'On behalf of the French Republic, etc.', that is, this proclamation is sent from their Republic, that means their body politic, because they have no chief or sultan with whom they all agree, like others, whose function is to speak on their behalf. For when they rebelled against their sultan six years ago and killed him, the people agreed unanimously that there was not to be a single ruler but that their state, territories, laws, and administration of their affairs, should be in the hands of the intelligent and wise men among them. They appointed persons chosen by them and made them heads of the army, and below them generals and commanders of thousands, two hundreds, and tens, administrators and advisers, on condition that they were all to be equal and none superior to any other in view of the equality of creation and nature. They made this the foundation and basis of their system. This is the meaning of their statement 'based upon the foundation of liberty and equality.' Their term 'liberty' means that they are not slaves like the Mamlūks: 'equality' has the aforesaid meaning...

They follow this rule: great and small, high and low, male and female are all equal. Sometimes they break this

rule according to their whims and inclinations or reasoning. Their women do not veil themselves and have no modesty; they do not care whether they uncover their body parts. Whenever a Frenchman has to perform an act of nature he does so wherever he happens to be, even in full view of people, and he goes away as he is, without washing his private parts after defecation. If he is a man of taste and refinement he wipes himself with whatever he finds, even with a paper with writing on it, otherwise he remains as he is. Sometimes one of their women goes into a barber's shop, and invites him to shave her pubic hair. If he wishes he can take his fee in kind. It is their custom to shave both their moustaches and beard. Some of them leave the hair of their cheeks only.

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U.S. and the Muslim World

I. Treaty of Peace and Amity: The U.S. and the Garrison of Algiers, 5 September 1795

Ratified by the United States, Philadelphia, 7 March 1796; Algerine entry into effect, 8 July 1796] [J.H. Kramer's 1930 English Translation of the original Turkish text, in *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America* edited by Hunter Miller, Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931, pp.304-311

...The reason for the drawing up of this treaty and the motive for the writing of this convention of good omen, is that on Saturday, the twenty-first day of the month of Safar of this year 1210, there have been negotiations for a treaty of peace between the ruler and commander of the American people, living in the island called America among the isles of the ocean, and the frontier post of the holy war, the garrison of Algiers. This peace treaty has been concluded, together with the contractual promise to give annually to the garrison of Algiers 12,000 Algerian gold pieces, provided that, in equivalence of these 12,000 gold pieces, being the price of the peace, there may be ordered and imported for our garrison and our arsenal, power, lead, iron, bullets, bombshells, bomb stones, gun stones, masts, poles, yards, anchor chains, cables, sailcloth, tar, pitch, boards, beams, and other necessities, provided that the price of all the ordered articles shall be accounted for, so that, if this is equal to 12,000 gold pieces, it shall be all right, but if the price of the article is higher, it shall be paid to them, and if there remains something to our credit, they promise to complete it. If, before the conclusion of our peace, our vessels of war have captured vessels of the said nation, these shall not be restored and shall remain our prizes, but if our war vessels capture one of their ships after the date of the conclusion of the peace treaty, it is promised that this ship shall be given back.

All this has been put down in the present document, which shall be consulted whenever needed and according to which both parties shall act.

Art.1 In the year 1210 an agreement has been reached between the ruler of America, George Washington, President, our friend and actually the Governor of the States of the island of America, and the lord of our well-preserved garrison of Algiers, His Highness Hassan Pasha -- may God grant to him what he wishes -- the Dey, together with the Agha of his victorious army, his minister, all the members of the Divan, and all his victorious soldiers, and equally between the subjects of both parties. According to this agreement our peace and friendship shall be steady and has been confirmed. After this date nothing has been left that is contrary to our peace or that may disturb it.

Art. 2. When large or small ships belonging to our friend the ruler of America, and equally ships belonging to his subjects, arrive in the port of Algiers or in other ports dependent on Algiers, and they sell from their goods according to the ancient usage, there shall be taken a duty of 5 piasters from every 100 piasters, in the same way as this is paid, according to the treaties, by the English, the Dutch, and the Swedes, and that no more shall be taken. Also that if they wish to take back their unsold goods and reembark them, nobody shall require anything from them, and equally that nobody in the said ports shall do them harm or lay hand upon them.

Art. 3. If war vessels or merchant vessels belonging to our friend the American ruler meet on the open sea with war vessels or merchant vessels belonging to Algiers, and they become known to each other, they shall not be allowed to search or to molest each other, and that none shall hinder the other from wending its own way with honor and respect. Also, that whatever kind of travellers there are on board, and wherever they go with their goods, their valuables, and other properties, they shall not molest each other or take anything from each other, nor take them to a certain place and hold them up, nor injure each other in any way.

Art. 4. If war vessels of Algiers meet with American merchant vessels, large or small, and this happens out of the places under the rule of America, there shall be sent only a shallop, in which, besides the rowers, two person shall take place; on their arrival no more than two persons shall go on board the ship, the commander of the said ship having to give permission and after the showing of the Government passport, these persons shall perform quickly the formalities with regard to the ship, and return, after which the merchant vessel shall wend its own way.

Further, that if war vessels of the American ruler meet with war vessels or merchant vessels of Algiers, and these vessels are in possession of a passport delivered by the ruler of Algiers or the American Consul residing in Algiers, nobody may touch anything belonging to the said vessel, but it shall wend its way in peace.

Art. 5. None of the captains of Algerian ships or of their officers or commanders shall take anybody by force from American ships into their own ships or bring such a

person to other places, that they shall not interrogate them on account of anything or do them harm, whatever kind of people they may be; as long as these are on American ships, they shall not molest them.

Art. 6. If a ship of the American ruler or belonging to his subjects shall be stranded on one of the coasts of the territory under Algerian rule and is wrecked, nobody shall take anything from their properties or goods or plunder them.

Also, that if such a thing should happen, their goods shall not be taken to the customhouse, nor shall there be done any damage to their people, and if a similar thing should happen in the places that are under the rule of Algiers, the inhabitants shall do anything in their power to give every possible aid and assistance and help them to bring their goods on dry places.

Art. 7. No Algerian ship, small or large, shall, with the permission and the authority of the ruler of Algiers, be equipped from countries at war with the ruler of America and commit acts of war against the Americans.

Art. 8. If an American merchant buys a prize in Algiers, or if an Algerian cruiser captain who has taken a prize on the open seas sells his prize to an American merchant, either in Algiers or on the sea, so that it is bought immediately from the captain, and there is drawn up a document concerning this sale, and if he meets afterwards another war vessel from Algiers, nobody shall molest the merchant who has bought this prize, nor shall he prevent him from wending peacefully his way.

Art. 9. The inhabitants of Tunis, Tripoli, Sale, or others shall in no wise bring the people or the goods of American ships, large or small, to the territory under the rule of Algiers, nor shall there be given permission to sell them nor shall they be allowed to be sold.

Art. 10. If the warships of the American ruler bring to Algiers, or to ports under Algerian rule, prizes or goods captured by them, nobody shall hinder them from doing with their booty as they wish, namely, selling it or taking it with them.

Also, that American war vessels shall not pay any tithes or duties whatever.

Further, that if they wish to buy anything for provisions, the inhabitants shall give it to them at the same price as they sell it to others and ask no more.

Likewise, if those people want to charter ships for the transport of goods to whatever region, province, or port, be it to Smyrna or from Constantinople to this region, or for the transport of travellers from Smyrna or other provinces, or in order to convey pilgrims to Egypt, they may charter those ships at reasonable prices, in the same way as other peoples, and from our side they shall not be opposed by pretexts such as that it is contraband or that it is not allowed among us, so that we do not allow those ships to leave.

Art. 11. If war vessels belonging to our friend the American ruler come to anchor in front of Algiers, and a slave, being an American or of another nationality, takes refuge on board the said war vessel, the ruler of Algiers may claim this slave, at which request the commander of the war vessel shall make this fugitive slave leave his ship and deliver him into the presence of the ruler of Algiers. If the slave is not to be found and reaches a country of unbelievers, the commander of the ship shall pledge his word that he shall return and bring him to Algiers.

Art. 12. From this time onward the subjects of the American ruler shall not be bought, nor sold, nor taken as slaves, in the places under the rule of Algiers.

Also, that since there is friendship with the American ruler, he shall not be obliged to redeem against his will slaves belonging to him, but that this shall be done at the time he likes and that it shall depend on the generosity and the solicitude of the friends and relatives of the slaves.

Also, that if the Algerian vessels of war capture a ship belonging to a nation with which they are at war, and there are found Americans among the crew of this ship, these shall not be made slaves if they are in possession of a pass, nor shall there be done harm to their persons and goods; but if they are not in possession of a pass they shall be slaves and their goods and properties shall be taken.

Art. 13. If one of the merchants of the American ruler or one of his subjects shall die in Algiers or in one of the dependencies of Algiers, the ruler of Algiers or other persons shall not touch in any way the deceased's money, property, or goods: if he has designated before his death an executor, nobody else shall touch any part of his property or goods, either if the executor mentioned is present in Algiers or if he is not there. Accordingly, the person designated as executor by the deceased shall take the properties and the goods, and nobody else shall touch the slightest part of it; so shall it be. The executor or the person delegated by him as his representative shall make an inventory of his money and property, take possession of it, and forward it in due time to the heir.

Further, that if no subject of the American ruler is present, the American Consul shall make an inventory of the said deceased's money and goods and take possession of them and keep them in charge until the arrival of his relations living in their own country.

Art. 14. Neither in Algiers itself nor in its dependencies shall the American merchant be obliged to purchase goods which they do not desire, but they shall be free to purchase the goods they desire.

Also, that the ships visiting the ports of Algiers shall not be molested in this way -- that goods which they do not wish be put into the ships.

Further, that neither the American Consul nor anyone else, in case an American subject is unable to pay his debts, shall be held responsible for those debts and be obliged to pay, unless some persons, according to their free will, are bound for the debtor.

Art. 15. If one of the subjects of the American ruler has a suit at law with a Mohammedan or with someone subjected to the rule of Algiers, the said suit at law shall be

settled in the presence of His Excellency the Dey and the honored Divan, without intervention of anybody else. If there occurs a suit at law among those people themselves, the American Consul shall decide their disputes.

Art. 16. Should one of the subjects of the American ruler have a fight with a Mohammedan, so that one wounds the other or kills him, each one shall be punished according to the prescriptions of the law of his own country, that is, according to the custom in all other places. If, however, an American kills a Mohammedan and flies and escapes after the murder, neither the American Consul in Algiers nor other Americans shall be compelled to answer for him.

Art. 17. The American Consul now and in future, without regard to who he is, shall be free to circulate without fear, while nobody shall molest his person or his goods.

Also, that he may appoint anyone whom he desires as dragoman or as broker.

Also, that whenever he wishes to go on board a ship or to take a walk outside, nobody shall hinder him.

Further, that a place shall be designated for the practice of their vain religious ceremonies, that a priest whom they need for their religious instruction may dwell there, and that the American slaves present in Algiers, either belonging to the Government or to other peoples, may go to the house of the Consul and practice their vain religious ceremonies without hindrance from the chief slave guard or from their masters.

Art. 21. There shall not be asked duty and taxes for goods that are destined for the house of the American Consul, consisting of eatables, drinkables, other necessities, and presents.

II. The Algerine Captive

(Royall Tyler: *The Algerine Captive; or, the Life and Adventurers of Doctor Updike Underhill, Six Years a Prisoner Among the Algerines (1797)*, A Facsimile Reproduction of the London Edition of 1802 with an Introduction by Jack B. Moore, Gainseville, Florida: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1967. pp.44-50, permission pending.)

Following is a debate between an American physician (the Author), enslaved in Algeria after a ship on which he was travelling was shipwrecked, and a similarly enslaved Greek Christian who converted to Islam, was manumitted, and studied to become a mollah, a learned and holy man. They are debating the merits of their own religions.

Author: We know that the Christian religion is true, from its small beginnings and wonderful increase. None but the Deity himself could have enabled a few illiterate fisherman to spread a religion over the world, and perpetuate it to posterity.

Mollah: Your argument I allow to be forcible, but grant us also the use of it. Mahomet was an illiterate camel-driver. Could he, who could not read or write, have published a book, which for its excellence has astonished the world? Would the learned of Medina and Mecca have become his disciples? Could Omar and Abubeker, his successors, men equally illiterate, have become the admiration of the world? If you argue from the astonishing spread of your faith, view our prophet, born five hundred and sixty-nine years ago, and dating the promulgation of his doctrine six hundred and twenty years, after the birth of your prophet. See the extensive countries of Persia, Arabia, Syria, Egypt, all rejoicing in its benign influence. See our holy faith pouring its divine rays of light into Russia and Tartary. See it received by enlightened Greece, raising its crescent through the vast Turkish empire and the African states. See Palestine and Jerusalem, the birth-place of your prophet, filled with the disciples of ours. See Asia and Africa, and a great part of Europe, acknowledging the unity of God, and the mission of his prophet. In a word, view the world. See two Mahomeddans, men professing a religion, which arose six hundred and twenty years after yours, to one Christian, computing Christians of all denominations, and then give your argument of the miraculous spread of religion its due weight.

Author: My blood boiled to hear this infidel vaunt himself thus triumphantly against my faith; and, if it had not been for a prudence which in hours of zeal I have since had cause to lament, I should have taken vengeance on him upon the spot.

Instead, I responded our religion was disseminated in peace; yours was promulgated by the sword.

Mollah: My friend, you surely have not read the writings of your own historians. The history of the Christian church is a detail of bloody massacre; from the institution of the Christian thundering legion under Constantine the Great, to the expulsion of the Moors out of Spain by the ferocious inquisition, or the dragooning of the Hugonots from France under Louis the Great. The Mussulmans never yet forced a man to adopt their faith. The companions and successors of the apostle conquered cities and kingdoms, like other nations. They gave civil laws to the conquered, according to the laws of nations; but they never forced the conscience of any man. It is true, they then, and we now, when a slave pronounces the ineffable creed, immediately knock off his fetters and receive him as a brother; because we read in the book of Zuni that the souls of true believers are bound up in one fragrant bundle of eternal love. We leave it to the Christians of the West Indies, and Christians of your southern plantations, to baptize the unfortunate African into your faith, and then use your brother Christians as brutes of the desert.

Author: Here I was so abashed for my country, I could not answer him.

III. Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim

(Benjamin Franklin: Writings The Library of America, pp.1157-1160, permission pending)

The Philadelphia Abolition Society had petitioned the U.S. congress to put an end to slavery in the U.S. A Mr. Jackson, a southern Congressman delivered an impassioned speech concerning the deleterious effects to the poor slaves if they were freed and left to their own devices. B. Franklin uses his own arguments against him.

Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim on the Slave Trade
To the Editor of the Federal Gazette March 23, 1790
Sir,

Reading last night in your excellent Paper the speech of Mr. Jackson in Congress against their meddling with the Affair of Slavery, or attempting to mend the Condition of the Slaves, it put me in the mind of a similar one made about 100 years since by Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim, a member of the Divan of Algiers, which may be seen in Martin's Account of his Consulship, in 1687. It was against granting the Petition of the Sect called *Erika*, or Purists, who prayed for the Abolitition of Piracy and Slavery as being unjust. Mr. Jackson does not quote it; perhaps he has not seen it. If, therefore, some of its Reasonings are to be found in his eloquent Speech, it may only show that men's Interests and Intellects operate and are operated on with surprising similarity in all Countries and Climates, when under similar Circumstances. The African's Speech, as translated, is as follows.

"Allah Bismillah, God is great, and Mahomet is his Prophet."

"Have these *Erika* considered the Consequences of granting their Petition? If we cease our Cruises against the Christians, how shall we be furnished with the Commodities their Countries produce, and which are so necessary for us? If we forbear to make Slaves of their People, who in this hot Climate are to cultivate our Lands? Who are to perform the common Labors of our City, and in our Families? Must we not then be our own Slaves? And is there not more Compassion and more Favor due to us as Mussulmen, then to these Christian Dogs? We have now about 50,000 Slaves in and near Algiers. This Number, if not kept up by fresh Supplies, will soon diminish, and be gradually annihilated. If we then cease taking and plundering the Infidel Ships, and making Slaves of the Seamen and Passengers, our Lands will become of no Value for want of Cultivation; the Rents of Houses in the City will sink one half; and the Revenues of Government arising from its Share of Prizes be totally destroyed! And for what? To gratify whims of a whimsical Sect, who would have us, not only forbear making more Slaves, but even to manumit those we have.

"But who is to indemnify their Masters for the Loss? Will the State do it? Is our Treasury sufficient? Will the *Erika* do it? Can they do it? Or would they, to do what they think Justice to the Slaves, do a greater injustice to the Owners? And if we set our Slaves free, what is to be done with them? Few of them will return to their Countries; they know too well the greater Hardships they must there be subject to; they will not embrace our holy Religion; they will not adopt our Manners; our People will not pollute themselves by intermarrying with them. Must we maintain them as Beggars in our Streets, or suffer our Properties to be the Prey of their Pillage? For Men long accustomed to Slavery will not work for a Livelihood when not compelled. And what is there so pitiable in their present Condition? Were they not Slaves in their own Countries?

"Are not Spain, Portugal, France, and the Italian states governed by Despots, who hold all their Subjects in Slavery, without Exception? Even England treats its Sailors as Slaves; for they are, whenever the Government pleases, seized, and confined in Ships of War, condemned not only to work, but to fight, for small wages, or a mere Subsistence, not better than our Slaves are allowed by us. Is their Condition then made worse by their falling into our Hands? No; they have only exchanged one Slavery for another, and I may say a better; for here they are brought into a Land where the Sun of Islamism gives forth its Light, and shines in full Splendor, and they have an opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the true Doctrine, and thereby saving their immortal Souls. Those who remain at home have not that Happiness. Sending the Slaves home then would be sending them out of Light into Darkness.

"I repeat the Question, What is to be done with them? I have heard it suggested, that they may be planted in the Wilderness, where there is plenty of Land for them to subsist on, and where they may flourish as a free State; but they are, I doubt too little disposed to labor without Compulsion, as well as too ignorant to establish a good government, and the wild Arabs would soon molest and destroy or again enslave them. While serving us, we take care to provide them with everything, and they are treated with Humanity. The Laborers in their own Country are, as I am well informed, worse fed, lodged, and clothed. The Condition of most of them is therefore already mended, and requires no further Improvement. Here their Lives are in Safety. They are not liable to be impressed for Soldiers, and forced to cut one another's Christian Throats, as in the Wars of their own Countries. If some of the religious mad Bigots, who now tease us with their silly Petitions, have in a Fit of blind Zeal freed their Slaves, it was not Generosity, it was not Humanity, that moved them to the Action; it was from the conscious Burthen of a Load of Sins, and Hope, from the supposed Merits of so good a Work, to be excused Damnation.

"How grossly are they mistaken in imagining Slavery to be disallowed by the Alcoran! Are not the two precepts, to quote no more, '*Masters, treat your Slaves with kindness; Slaves, serve your Masters with Cheerfulness and Fidelity,*' clear Proofs to the contrary? Nor can the Plundering of Infidels be in that sacred book forbidden, since it is well known from it, that God has given the World, and all that it

contains, to his faithful Mussulmen, who are to enjoy it of Right as fast as they conquer it. Let us then hear no more of this detestable Proposition, the Manumission of Christian Slaves, the Adoption of which would, by depreciating our Lands and Houses, and thereby depriving so many good Citizens of their Properties, create universal Discontent, and provoke Insurrections, to the endangering of Government and producing general Confusion. I have therefore no doubt, but this wise Council will prefer the Comfort and Happiness of a whole Nation of true Believers to the Whim of a few *Erika*, and dismiss their Petition."

The Result was, as Martin tells us, that the Divan came to this Resolution; "The Doctrine, that Plundering and Enslaving the Christians is unjust, is at best *problematical*; but that it is the Interest of this State to continue the Practice, is clear; therefore let the Petition be rejected."

And it was rejected accordingly.

And since like Motives are apt to produce in the Minds of Men like Opinions and Resolutions, may we not, Mr. Brown, venture to predict, from this Account, that the Petitions to the Parliament of England for abolishing the Slave-Trade, to say nothing of other Legislatures, and the Debates upon them, will have a similar Conclusion? I am, Sir, your constant Reader and humble Servant,
Historicus
The Federal Gazette, March 25, 1790

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Perceptions

During the colonial period, the encounters between the people of the colonizing nations and those of the colonized states, and vice versa,could not avoid the influence of power. As these four selections demonstrate, perceptions were governed by these power dynamics, but could ignore them just as well.

I. Muhammad as-Saffar

(Disorienting Encounters: Travels of a Moroccan Scholar in France in 1845-1846, The Voyage of Muhammad as-Saffar, translated and edited by Susan Gilson Miller, Berkeley, LA, Oxford: University of California Press,1992 pp.142-150, 186-189, 200-208, permission pending.)

- **The Theater**

Among their spectacles are the "theater," the "comedy," and the "opera," where they put on plays that may be bizarre, humorous, fantastic, or heroic. It is seriousness in the form of levity, for the play may be a lesson in proper conduct, or a story rare and marvelous, or a dilemma of a special sort that leads them to a more perfect knowledge of things.

When the hour of the play comes, people gather together before the curtain, which is then raised, revealing marvelous scenes and strange forms on the open stage. They show cities and forests, land and sea, the sun, moon, and stars. All of it is drawn on paper, but to those who see it, there is no doubt that it is real.

Their plays are well known and faithfully preserved, not invented on the spot. The [title of] the play they will perform is written out beforehand on sheets of paper, announcing that such-and-such a play will be performed at such-and-such a place, thus making it known to all. The subject matter of their plays is the recitation of verses and the singing of songs in their language, especially between lovers. They make one of them the lover and the other the beloved, and the two of them come forward on the stage reciting and singing to one another. Sometimes the beloved is pleased with her lover, and draws near to him; at other times she loathes him and turns away from him, all the while reciting the proper words. Those who understand what they are saying to each other take pleasure in the talking and versifying. They enjoy that even more than the scenery and the other curiosities, because the talk is refined, well mannered, informative about unusual subjects and difficult problems, satisfying in its responses, and comical in its phrasing.

They watch and take delight in it. In fact, they claim that it is edifying for the spirit, instructive in morals, and restful for the body and soul, so that one may return to one's accustomed work with joy and determination. Nourish your spirit exhausted by work with rest, Mending and healing it with a bit of humor.

[A Hadith] One day ash-Sha'abi was asked, "Did the Companions of the Prophet, peace be upon him, make merry?" And he answered, "Yes, for belief was in their hearts like an immobile mountain. Of all the Companions of the Prophet, Nu'iman was most given to mirth, and he was in the battle of Badr. It is said that he told the Prophet, peace be upon him, that he would like to make even more fun and laughter;" and the Prophet replied, "He will enter Paradise laughing." One of the jokes that he told was about when he gave the Messenger of God a jar of honey which he bought from a Bedouin for a *dinar*. He came with the Bedouin to the door of the Prophet and said to [the Bedouin], "Get the money from him." And when the Prophet heard that, he asked Nu'iman, "Why did you do that?" And Nu'iman answered, "I wanted to buy you a gift, but I had no money." And the Prophet laughed and gave the Bedouin the money.

- **Their House of Books**

The next day we went to the Sultan's house of books, that is, his library, which was a large building, four stories high, each floor having five or six great lofty rooms. Every wall was filled with books on wooden shelves from floor to ceiling, and in the middle was another row of shelves the length of the room. They were crammed with books newly bound in red leather, the title of each written on its spine. All these rooms were spotlessly clean; no rubbish, dust,

cobwebs, bookworms, or bugs were to be seen.

Custodians and workers tend the books and guard them. Their chief holds the key to the rooms and they allow whoever wishes to enter, but he must sit in a designated place at a table surrounded by chairs. He requests the books he wants from the custodian, who brings them and then stands on guard. You may read and copy from them to your heart's content; but no one is permitted to carry off a single book. The custodians are always there on duty, but they do not bother you. They know the name of ever book. You may ask for whatever you want [by saying]: "Bring me such-and-such a book," and they will fetch it for you in an instinct. Some of them know Arabic, and if an Arab goes there, he will find someone who comprehends his words.

All kinds of books are found there, [such as] books in Arabic from the Arab West and the Arab East; books written by hand or printed on a press; and non-Arabic books in Greek, Latin, Hindi, Turkish, Coptic, Ethiopic, and Persian. We asked for Arabic books and they brought us an enormous Koran in a single volume; two men had to carry it between them because of its size. It was in eastern script, and we had never seen anything approaching it in beauty, splendor, and perfection. The gold and ornamentation on it were beyond words. It should rightfully belong in the library of one of the kings of Islam, may God render them victorious and deliver it from the hands of the infidel! It is guarded extremely closely and no one may touch it except those of the front rank of learning. We asked them from whence it came, and they told us from Egypt, when they conquered it.

They showed us other Korans, including one written on one long page inside of the Verse of the Throne, that is, they wrote the Verse of the Throne in large letters, and then the entire Koran from beginning to end in very tiny letters inside of it. Then they brought us the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik, written in Andalusian script on parchment, as well as other Arabic books. If our eyesight had allowed it, we would have whiled away the entire day there.

- **Their House of Physics**

The most remarkable and strangest thing we saw here in the House of Physics was a force that carries news from one place to another in an instant with complete clarity and accuracy, even if the two places are far apart, because it is done with writing. The way they did it was with a disk of brass like the face of a clock, engraved with all the letters (and the vowels too, because the vowels are letters for them). This disk was firmly fixed to a stand, which had as many holes in its sides as there were letters, a hole under each letter. Across from it was another disk, lying flat, that was also marked with all the letters, with a pointer at its center. The two disks were connected by two wires that vibrated. If one person wished to talk with another, he would turn the first disk so that the needle lodged in the hole below the letter [desired]; the pointer on the second disk would stop at the same [place]. So it went until the words were complete and perfectly understood -- all with the greatest speed. They claim that the force between these two disks can carry words instantly from one place to another. Even if there were thousands of hours travel time between them, it would take just a second, that is one-sixtieth of a minute.

This device completely staggers the senses, but one who has seen it with his own eyes will not doubt it. We tried it ourselves with a few words and could not move our eyes from one disk to the other before the pointer stood at the correct letter. They claim that they have set this up between Paris and Orleans, a distance of ninety miles, and also between the Chamber where they gather to make their laws and the palace of the Sultan, by means of a device hidden underground with an attendant at each end. They talk to the Sultan from the Chamber while he is in his palace, and he answers them, although they are a great distance apart.

- **Their House for Printing**

On Thursday, the twenty-third day of the month, we went to the house for printing books called the *asstanba*, which is another of their amazing crafts. First of all, you should know that the letters are cast in tin, thick at the bottom and narrow at the top. Some letters are single, and others are made of two letters joined together. [The printer] takes the letters he wants and puts them in a frame the size of the page to be printed, setting them in straight lines like writing. The letters are held tightly with a clamp that keeps them in order. Then they coat them with ink and lay a sheet of paper over them, pressing it down firmly by means of a vise. When the paper emerges, it is completely covered with writing.

After a book is printed it must be bound, and that too is a craft there. They take it into other rooms where they trim the margins of the pages by means of a steam power, which operates the knives. In another room they gather the papers in a bundle between two boards, and press them from below with an iron bar moved by water power. Yet another room is for binding. [In sum,] paper enters this place blank and comes out a bound book.

The most amazing writing machine we saw there was a special way of printing a book regardless of the writing, be it Arabic or non-Arabic, eastern or western [script], or whatever. They do this by taking a sheet written on with special ink that is reddish, like the dye from walnuts. Then they fasten it to a stone. When they open it up, the writing appears on the stone just as it was on the page. With this stone they print as many pages as they like; all of them emerge exactly like the original, without additions or subtractions, corruptions or alterations. I wrote a line with that ink on a piece of paper, which they then placed on a stone, and the writing became imprinted on it. Then they printed other pages from the stone, which came out exactly like the first page. [In this way] one can print an entire book in whatever handwriting one wishes.

The total number of workers employed in that establishment was eight hundred, and they work continually, without a stop. One wonders, where do all these books go? But everything there is recorded in books; no place is without them. They take down information and benefit from it, not depending on memory for fear of forgetting it.

As it is said about books:

> When you sit with my companion, he relieves
> Your heart of pain and suffering.
> He gives you knowledge and adds to your wisdom.
> Not jealous or given to hatred,
> He keeps faithfully what is entrusted to him,
> Not betraying his trust with the passage of time.

This is everything relating to the printing press...

About two days later we went to a place they call the "Pantheon," a very tall building with a very lofty dome about four hundred cubits high from which all of Paris can be seen; from it people on the ground look like small children. Their great ones are buried there inside stone boxes in underground chambers, with the boxes sealed over them. On the side of the box is an urn containing the heart of the dead one; they remove it and coat it with something that preserves it, and then put it into the urn and hang a sign on it saying it was his heart. Here too are huge statues of humans, and one of them was carrying a crown. They claimed it was an image of Fate. When one of their kings dies, [Fate] removes his crown and places it on another; kings grow old and die, but [Fate] never dies. In the hand of another [statue] was a sword, and they claimed it was the Day of Judgement.

Among the objects we saw in the palace of Versailles were paintings of war from the beginning of time to the present; but they only show the wars in which they were victorious. [An anecdote:] They tell the story about a man who walked through the marketplace and saw people gathered around the picture of a man overwhelming a lion. He went on until he met a lion, and he told the lion what he had seen. The lion said to him: "If the lion knew how to draw, you would see what he would do; but since he does not know how, then each one draws what he pleases."

We saw likeness of their notables and great men, their sultans, heroes, and priests; some were carved in stone and others were drawn. We saw painting[s] of their entry into the cities of Algiers and Constantine, and a picture of their victory over all those lands; a likeness of the Ottoman Sultan 'Abd al-Majid, and one of Muhammad 'Ali, the Pasha of Egypt. This castle is built of the finest-colored marble. Some rooms there belonged to Louis XVI, and when he died they remained exactly as they were, with his furnishings, bed, chairs, crown, and chapel preserved down to the very last detail.

II. Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi

(*The Literature of Ideas in Egypt*, edited by Louis Awad, The Regents of the University of California, 1986, pp.38-47 Permission pending)

- **Intellectual Formation**

I have read many books of literature among which there was a collection of novels, many of the works of Voltaire, the works of Racine, the works of Rousseau, the works of Montesquieu, especially his *Lettres Persanes* in which he shows the difference between the literature of the Europeans and that of the Persians and in a sense weighs occidental and oriental literature in the balance. I have also read, without the help of a teacher, Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to His Son*, which are English letters he wrote to educate his son, and have read many French essays. [Tahtawi here used the term *maqamat*, a classical literary form which could mean either a narrative essay or a short story with a moral point.] Altogether, I have read extensively the masterpieces of French literature.

I have read the book by Bulamanqui on the theory of natural right with the professor of that subject, translated it and understood it thoroughly. This philosophy of rationalism or critique of reason is made by the Europeans the basis of their political systems which they call constitutional law. With Monsieur Choilet, I have also read two parts of a book called *L'Esprit des lois*, whose author, called Montesquieu, is famous among the French. It may be described as an assessment of political and juridical doctrines, and itself is based on the rationalist critique. In France Montesquieu is called the Ibn Khaldun of Europe, while Ibn Khaldun is called the Montesquieu of the Orient, that is, of Islam. In the same field I have also read a book entitled *Le contrat social*, whose author is called Rousseau. It is a book of great significance.

In philosophy I have read the aforementioned *History of Philosophy* which contains an exposition of their doctrines, creeds, wise sayings, and teachings. I have read many valuable passages covering most philosophical doctrines by Sieur de Voltaire as well as many parts of the works of Condillac...

We began our studies with the book entitled *History of the Great Philosophers* which we read till the end. Then we started another book which was an abridged general history of the ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Greeks, Persians, Romans, and Indians, with an addendum on Greek mythology. With Monsieur Chevalier, I first read a book called *Anecdotes of History* ... then a book called *Manners and Customs of Nations* then *Grandeur et decadence de l'empire romain*, then the *History of Napoleon*,...

- **On Fate**

We anchored in the port of Marseilles, an important town in France. There we disembarked from the ship into small boats which took us to a house outside the town equipped for quarantine, for it is their custom to isolate any person coming from foreign countries in quarantine before

he enters the town. In this connection, we may mention here what was said by the ulama of the Maghreb about quarantine... For there has been a debate about quarantine between the learned Shaykh Muhammad al-Manna'i of Tunis, a follower of the legal school of Ibn Malik and a teacher in the Zaytuna Mosque, and the Mufti of the Hanafi school, the learned Shaykh Muhammad Bayram... The former said that quarantine was against religion and must therefore be abolished. The latter said it was consonant with religion and may, indeed must, be established. He wrote a disputation in defense of this argument using evidence from the Koran and the Sunna. The other also wrote a disputation in defense of the interdiction, basing his positions on the idea that quarantine constitutes a human attempt to escape from fate. Another debate also took place between them concerning the shape of the earth. Mann'i said it was flat, while his adversary said it was spherical.

- **On the Performing Arts**

It should be noted that these people, once they finish their customary daily work, pay no attention to religious worship. They spend their free time in temporal activities and in recreation and amusement, for which they have created wonderful arts.

Among the places of entertainment there are those called *theatres* and *spectacles* in which are performed imitations of everything that happens in life.

These performers, female and male, are similar to our *'awalim* in Egypt. Yet actors and actresses in Paris are people of great culture and eloquence. Some of them have even written literary compositions and poems. If you heard the verses memorized by those players, and watched the way they put across in their performace the inner significance of what they recite, and follow their dialogues full of wit and censure, you would be amazed beyond measure.

- **A Shaykh's Reflections on Dancing**

We have said that for the Parisians, dancing is one of the arts. Mas'udi had referred to it in his history entitled *Pastures of Gold*. It resembles wrestling in maintaining the equilibrium of the limbs and in controlling one force in motion by another force in motion. Not every strong man knows how to wrestle. Indeed, a weak man may overpower a strong man by the art of the wrestler. Similarly, not every dancer is able to perform the fine movements of the body. It is evident that both dancing and wrestling are acquired by watching. In France all people are fond of dancing, since it is a matter of good manners and elegance rather than prostitution. This is why it is totally unconnected with moral laws, unlike dancing in Egypt, which is restricted to women because it is intended to arouse sexual desire. In Paris it is a special form of capering which does not suggest lewdness in the least, and every man who is attracted to a woman can dance with her. When the dance is over, another man will invite her for the next dance, whether he knows her or not, and so forth. Women are particularly happy to see that many men wish to dance with them. They are satisfied with one or two men, but would like to see many men dance with them. They feel it is monotonous to cling to one thing....

They have special dances: a man puts his arm around the waist of the woman he is dancing with, and holds her hand in his.. For touching any woman in the upper part of the body is not improper with these Christians. They also consider that the more a man is courteous in speech to a woman and full of praise, the better is his breeding.

- **Universal Education**

The education of the children and the young of the nation, both male and female, is an absolute imperative... The Greeks, far famed for their wisdom in ancient times, gave excellent education to the sons of their kings. When Plato came and admired this excellent education and careful molding of the character, he urged the Greeks to take the education of their princes as a model for the education of their own sons, both freemen and bondsmen.

Among the Greeks, women received regular education by which they acquired the virtues of men including physical fitness. This is how they dominated the hearts of men. They underwent arduous physical exercise and continuous training in wrestling games. This explains the wondrous feats of courage, equal to those of men, that were long performed by women in that country. It also explains why Greek heroes resepcted them profoundly, for it was man's admiration of women's courage that inspired men to perform courageous deeds. It is reported that a Greek mother said to console her son who had been wounded in battle and became lame: "Grieve not my son! For now with every step you take you will remember your own courage!"

In Athens, too, which was the city of the sages, they gave special care to the education of their children, for they knew that the splendor of their kingdom dependend on education....

The Europeans, whose countries now are the strongest in the world, have been intent on educating their daughters as well as their sons. In the past, the custom of the French was to educate their daughters in convents where they would stay until they were prepared for marriage. Many of the girls used to wear nuns' clothes until they left the religious schools to become brides.

...In some parts of Germany, the education of girls and boys is compulsory by law, and it is estimated that in Prussia one-sixth of the population goes to school. The state of education is more or less the same in Sweden, Belgium, the Netherlands, and the United States of America. Hence most people in Europe and America, both male and female, know how to read and write correctly and have acquired the general principles of knowledge so necessary to a polished mind. This universal education is common to all citizens. As for intermediate and higher education, it is restricted to those who can pursue it.

- **The Emancipation of Women**

French women are magnificent in beauty, and they can make gentle and amiable company. They always wear ornaments, and mix with men in places of recreation. Sometimes they make the acquaintance of some men in such places, especially on Sunday, which is the holiday of the Christians and their day of rest, and on Monday night in bars and dancing places which I shall describe later. This applies to both women of good family and to other kinds of women....

It would be wrong to think that the French, because they are not jealous about their women, are lacking in honor. It is ample proof of their sense of honor, more than anything else, that though they are devoid of jealousy, they react with destructive violence against their womenfolk, their lovers, and themselves in cases of infidelity. Their real mistake is simply that they let themselves be guided by women. However, no danger can possibly come to a chaste woman if left free...

In speaking of women's chastity, the causes of misbehavior have nothing to do with veiling or unveiling their faces, but lie in their good or bad upbringing. In instilling in them the virtue of giving their heart to no more than one man, and in harmony between husband and wife.

- **On French Rationalism**

We have already said that the French are a nation which believes in rationalism. Here I might add that they deny the occurrence of miracles. They believe that Nature never breaks her laws and that religions came to show mankind how to do good and how to avoid evil, but that civilization and progress in letters and refinement can replace religion, and that in civilized countries political laws replace religious laws. One of the obnoxious beliefs is expressed in their saying that the minds of their sages and their natural scientists are greater and finer than those of the prophets. They have many atrocious beliefs, such as denying fate and destiny, for the wise saying goes: "A wise man believes in fate, but is determined to meet any eventuality." Man should not refer things to fate or use fate as a pretext before its occurrence. It is a common saying that it is a sign of helplessness to refer things too often to fate. Another saying goes: "In disputes silence is better than speech, but in war preparation is better than abandonment to fate." Some of the French believe that God Almighty has made Creation in the best order and has never intervened since, except by observing it with divine care which they call providence. Thus providence only looks after universals, in the sense that it protects Creation from erring from the already established order. We shall elsewhere expound some of their beliefs.

- **Temporal and Spiritual Learning**

It is false to imagine that the French ulama are the clergy, for the clergy are only learned in matters of religion, though some priests are also well versed in the sciences. Those who are called ulama in French are those well versed in temporal sciences, but who usually know very little about Christian doctrine. Thus, when they say alim in France, they do not mean that he is well versed in religion, but that he is well versed in another subject. When I explain the surpassing knowledge of Christian savants in the sciences compared with others, you will realize to what extent our Muslim lands are lacking these sciences, for the Azhar Mosque in Cairo, the Omayyad Mosque in Damascus, the Zaytuna Mosque in Tunis, the Qarawiyin in Fez, and the schools of the Bukhara are only great centers of traditional spiritual learning, despite the fact that they also have a limited number of rational sciences like logic and the different subjects of the Arabic language.

- **Anticlericalism**

We have seen in the Charter that the religion of the state is the Catholic Christian religion. But this article has been removed since the revolution of 1830. Also we have already seen that the French in general are only Christians in practice, they care little about the rites of their religion. During fasts in Paris, practically all people eat meat. There are rare exceptions such as priests and the old royal family. As for the rest of the Parisians, they scoff at fasting and never practice it. They say that all religious rites for which there is a national purpose are simple figments of the imagination. No one in Paris respects priests except those who go to them in churches, and no one cares at all about them, for they are taken for the enemies of enlightenment and knowledge. It is said that most European countries are like Paris in matters of religion.

III. The Earl of Cromer

(The Earl of Cromer: *Modern Egypt*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908 pp.126-141, permission pending.)

What manner of men were these Egyptians over whom, by accident rather than by design, the Englishman was called upon to rule without having the appearance of ruling? To what influences were they subject? What were their national characteristics? What part must be assigned to the foreign, that is to say, the European, Asiatic, and non-Egyptian African races resident in Egypt? What political institutions and administrative systems existed when the English stepped upon the Egyptian scene? In a word, what was the chaotic material out of which the Englishman had to evolve something like order?

These are important questions. It is essential that they should be answered before the nature of the work accomplished by England in Egypt can be understood.

It might naturally be supposed that, as we are dealing with the country called Egypt, the inhabitants of whom the statesmen and the administrators would have almost exclusively to take account would be Egyptians. Any one who is inclined to rush to this conclusion should remember that Egypt, as Lord Milner has stated in his admirable work,

is the Land of Paradox. If any one walks down the principle streets of London, Paris or Berlin, nine out of ten people with whom he meets bear on their faces evidence, more or less palpable, that they are Englishmen, Frenchmen, or Germans. But let any one who has a general acquaintance with the appearance and physiognomy of the principle Eastern races try if he can give a fair ethnological description of the first ten people he meets in one of the streets of Cairo, that "maze of old ruin and modern café, that dying Mecca and still-born Rue de Rivoli" as it has been aptly termed by Sir William Butler. He will find it no easy matter, and with all his experience he may not improbably make many mistakes.

The first passer-by is manifestly an Egyptian fellah who has come into the city to sell his garden produce. The headgear, dress, and aquiline nose of the second render it easy to recognize a Bedouin who is perhaps come to Cairo to buy ammunition for his flint-lock gun, but who is ill at ease amidst urban surroundings, and will hasten to return to more congenial air of the desert. The small, thick-lipped man with dreamy eyes, who has a far-away look of one of the bas-reliefs on an ancient Egyptian tomb, but who Champollion and other *savants* tell us is not the lineal descendant of the ancient Egyptians, is presumably a Coptic clerk in some Government office. The face, which peers somewhat loweringly over a heavy moustache from the window of a passing bougham, is probably that of some Turco-Egyptian Pasha. The man with a bold, handsome, cruel face, who swaggers by in long boots and baggy trousers, must surely be a Circassian. The Syrian money-lender, who comes next, will get out of his way, albeit he may be about to sell up the Circassian's property the next day to recover a loan of which the capital and interest, at any ordinary rate, have been already paid twenty times over. The green turban, dignified mien, and slow gait of the seventh passerby denotes some pious Sheikh, perhaps on his way to the famous University of El-Azhar. The eighth must be a Jew, who has just returned from a tour in Asia Minor with a stock of embroideries, which he is about to sell to the winter tourists. The ninth would seem to be some Levantine nondescript, whose ethnological status defies diagnosis; and the tenth, though not easily distinguishable from the latter class, is in reality one of the petty traders of whom Greece is so prolific, and who are to be found dotted all over the Ottoman dominions. Nor is the list yet exhausted. Armenians, Tunisians, Algerians, Soudanese, Maltese, half-breeds of every description, and pure-blooded Europeans pass by in procession, and all go to swell the mass, if not of Egyptians, at all events of dwellers in Egypt.

The Englishman, I have said, came to Egypt with the fixed idea that he had a mission to perform, and, with his views about individual justice, equal rights before the law, the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and similar notions, he will not unnaturally interpret his mission in this sense, that he is to benefit the mass of the population. There lie those nine or ten million native Egyptians at the bottom of the social ladder, a poor, ignorant, credulous, but withal not unkindly race, being such as sixty centuries of misgovernment and oppression by various rulers, from Pharaohs to Pashas, have made them. It is for the civilized Englishman to extend to them the hand of fellowship and encouragement, and to raise them, morally and materially, from the abject state in which he finds them.

But the Englishman will find, when he once applies himself to his task, that there is, as it were, a thick mist between him and the Egyptian, composed of religious prejudice, antique and semi-barbarous customs, international rivalry, vested interests, and aspirations of one sort or another, some sordid, others, it may be, not ignoble but incapable of realization.

I have said that religious prejudice constituted one of the barriers which were interposed between the Englishmen and the Egyptian; for, on the one hand, besides being one of the European family in respect to general civilization, the Englishman, amidst many deviations from the path, will strive, perhaps to a greater extent than any other member of that family, to attain to a high degree of eminently Christian civilization; that is to say, although he will in his official capacity discard any attempt to proselytize, he will endeavor to inculcate a distinctly Christian code of morality as the basis for the relations between man and man. He is, indeed, guided in this direction by the lights, which have been handed down to him by his forefathers, and by the Puritan blood which still circulates in his veins.

The Egyptian, on the other hand, holds fast to the faith of Islam, that noble monotheism, belief in which takes to a great extent the place of patriotism in Eastern Countries.

The reasons why Islam as a social system has been a complete failure are manifold. First and foremost, Islam keeps women in a position of marked inferiority. In the second place, Islam, speaking not so much through the Koran as through the traditions which cluster round the Koran, crystallizes religion and law into one inseparable and immutable whole, with the result that all elasticity is taken away from the social system.

In the third place, Islam does not, indeed, encourage, but it tolerates slavery. "Mohammed found the custom existing among the Pagan Arabs; he minimized the evil." But he was powerless to abolish it altogether. His followers have forgotten the discouragement, and have generally made the permission to possess slaves the practical guide for their conduct. This is another fatal blot in Islam.

The Christian, to his shame be it said, has before now been not only a slave-owner, but, which is much worse, a slave-hunter. The Christian religion has, however, never sanctioned slavery.

Lastly, Islam has the reputation of being an intolerant religion, and the reputation is, from some points of view, well deserved, though the bald and sweeping accusation of intolerance requires qualification and explanation.

When he is not moved by any circumstances specially calculated to rouse his religious passions, the Moslem

readily extends a half-contemptuous tolerance to the Jew and the Christian. In the villages of Upper Egypt, the Crescent and the Cross, the Mosque and the Monastery, have stood peacefully side by side for many a long year. Nevertheless, the general tendency of Islam is to stimulate intolerance and to engender hatred and contempt not only for polytheists, but also, although in a modified form, for all nonotheists who will not repeat the formula which acknowledges that Mohammed was indeed the Prophet of God. Neither can this be any matter for surprise. The faith of Islam admits of no compromise. The Moslem is the antithesis of the pantheistic Hindu. His faith is essentially exclusive.

Islam, therefore, unlike Christianity, tends to engender the idea that revenge and hatred, rather than love and charity, should form the basis of the relations between man and man; and it inculcates a special degree of hatred against those who do not accept the Moslem faith. "When ye encounter the unbelievers," says the Koran, "strike off their heads until ye have made a great slaughter among them, and bind them in bonds... O true believers, if ye assist God, by fighting for his religion, he will assist you against your enemies; and will set your feet fast; but as for the infidels, let them perish; and their works God shall render vain Verily, God will introduce those who believe and do good works into gardens beneath which rivers flow, but the unbelievers indulge themselves in pleasures, and eat as beasts eat; and their abode shall be hell fire."

The Englishman in Egypt will find that, in the practical everyday work of administration, that intolerant spirit, though it may not always find expression in word or deed, is an obstacle to the reformer of which it is difficult to overrate the importance.

IV. 'Abd-Allah al-Baraduni

('Abd-Allah al-Baraduni, "From Exile to Exile," translated by Diana Der Hovanessian with Sharif el-Musa, in *Modern Arabic Poetry. An Anthology*, edited by Salma Khadra Jayyusi, New York: Columbia University Press, 1987, pp.157-158, Reprinted with Permission.)

From Exile to Exile

My country is handed over from one tyrant
to the next, a worse tyrant;
from one prison to another,
from one exile to another.
It is colonized by the observed invader and the hidden one;
handed over by one beast to two
like an emaciated camel.

In the caverns of its death
my country neither dies
nor recovers. It digs
in the muted graves looking for its pure origins
for its springtime promise
that slept behind its eyes
for the dream that will come
for the phantom that hid.
It moves from one overwhelming
night to a darker night.

My country grieves in its own boundaries
and in other people's land
and even on its own soil
suffers the alienation
of exile.

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Cultural Diffusion

Throughout Europe and America during the nineteenth century, the Romanticized "Orient" became an object of fascination and imitation. The influence of this romanticized view was felt in literature, architecture, decorating and design, fashion and art. The following readings are but a few of hundreds of examples. We begin with a story told to small communities throughout the U.S. as the author traveled to small towns to raise money to start a Protestant missionary college in the city of Philadelphia.

I. Acres of Diamonds

(Russell H. Conwell: *Acres of Diamonds*, New York & London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1915, pp.3-9, permission pending)

When going down the Tigris and Euphrates rivers many years ago with a party of English travellers I found myself under the direction of an old Arab guide whom we hired up at Baghdad, and I have often thought how that guide resembled our barbers in certain mental characteristics. He thought that it was not only his duty to guide us down those rivers, and do what he was paid for doing, but also to entertain us with stories curious and weird, ancient and modern, strange and familiar. Many of them I have forgotten, and I am glad I have, but there is one I shall never forget.

Said he, "I will tell you a story now which I reserve for my particular friends." When he emphasized the words "particular friends," I listened, and I have ever been glad I did. I really feel devoutly thankful, that there are 1,674 young men who have been carried through college by this lecture who are also glad that I did listen. The old guide told me that there once lived not far from the River Indus an ancient Persian by the name of Ali Hafed. He said that Ali Hafed owned a very large farm, that he had orchards, grain-fields, and gardens; that he had money at interest, and was a wealthy and contented man. He was contented because he was wealthy, and wealthy because he was contented. One day there visited that old Persian farmer one of those

ancient Buddhist priests, one of the wise men of the East. He sat down by the fire and told the old farmer how this world of ours was made. He said that this world was once a mere bank of fog, and that the Almighty thrust His finger into this bank of fog, and began slowly to move His finger around, increasing the speed until at last He whirled this bank of fog into a solid ball of fire. Then it went rolling through the universe, burning its way through other banks of fog, and condensed the moisture without, until it fell in floods of rain upon its hot surface, and cooled the outward crust. Then the internal fires bursting outward through the crust threw up the mountains and hills, the valleys, the plains and prairies of this wonderful world of ours. If this internal molten mass came bursting out and cooled very quickly copper, less quickly silver, less quickly gold, and, after gold, diamonds were made.

Said the old priest, "A diamond is a congealed drop of sunlight." Now that is literally scientifically true, that a diamond is an actual deposit of carbon from the sun. The old priest told Ali Hafed that if he had a mine of diamonds he could place his children upon thrones through the influence of their great wealth.

Ali Hafed heard all about diamonds, how much they were worth, and went to his bed that night a poor man. He had not lost anything, but he was poor because he was discontented, and discontented because he feared he was poor. He said, "I want a mine of diamonds," and he lay awake all night.

Early in the morning he sought out a priest. I know by experience that a priest is very cross when awakened early in the morning, and when he shook that old priest out of his dreams, Ali Hafed said to him:

"Will you tell me where I can find diamonds?"

"Diamonds! What to you want with diamonds?" "Why, I wish to be immensely rich." "Well, then, go along and find them. That is all you have to do; go and find them, and then you have them." "But I don't know where to go." "Well if you will find a river that runs through white sands, between high mountains, in those white sands you will always find diamonds." "I don't believe there is any such river." "Oh yes, there are plenty of them. All you have to do is to go and find them, and then you have them." Said Ali Hafed, "I will go."

So he sold his farm, collected his money, left his family in charge of a neighbor, and away he went in search of diamonds. He began his search, very properly to my mind, at the Mountains of the Moon. Afterward he came around into Palestine, then wandered on into Europe, and at last when his money was all spent and he was in rags, wretchedness, and poverty, he stood on the shore of that bay at Barcelona, in Spain, when a great tidal wave came rolling in between the pillars of Hercules, and the poor, afflicted, suffering, dying man could not resist the awful temptation to cast himself into that incoming tide, and he sank beneath its foaming crust, never to rise in this life again.

When the old guide had told me that awfully sad story he stopped the camel I was riding on and went back to fix the baggage that was coming off another camel, and I had an opportunity to muse over his story while he was gone. I remember saying to myself, "Why did he reserve that story for his `particular friends'?" There seems to be no beginning, no middle, no end, nothing to it. That was the first story I had ever heard in my life, and would be the first one I ever read, in which the hero was killed in the first chapter. I had but one chapter of that story, and the hero was dead.

When the guide came back and took up the halter of my camel, he went right ahead with the story, into the second chapter, just as though there had been no break. The man who purchased Ali Hafed's farm one day led his camel into the garden to drink, and as that camel put its nose into the shallow water of that garden brook, Ali Hafed's successor noticed a curious flash of light from the white sands of the stream. He pulled out a black stone having an eye of light reflecting all the hues of the rainbow. He took the pebble into the house and put it on the mantel which covers the central fires, and forgot all about it.

A few days later this same old priest came in to visit Ali Hafed's successor, and the moment he opened that drawing-room door he saw that flash of light on the mantel, and he rushed up to it, and shouted: "Here is a diamond! Has Ali Hafed returned?" "Oh no, Ali Hafed has not returned, and that is not a diamond. That is nothing but a stone we found right here in our own garden." "But," said the priest, "I tell you I know a diamond when I see it. I know positively that is a diamond."

Then together they rushed out into that old garden and stirred up the white sands with their fingers, and lo! there came up other more beautiful and valuable gems than the first. "Thus," said the guide to me, and, friends, it is historically true, "was discovered the diamond-mine of Golconda, the most magnificent diamond-mine in all the history of mankind, excelling the Kimberly itself. The Kohinoor, and the Orloff of the crown jewels of England and Russia, the largest on earth, came from that mine."

When that old Arab guide told me the second chapter of his story, he then took off his Turkish cap and swung it around in the air again to get my attention to the moral. Those Arab guides have morals to their stories, although they are not always moral. As he swung his hat, he said to me, "Had Ali Hafed remained at home and dug in his own cellar, or underneath his own wheat-fields, or in his own garden, instead of wretchedness, starvation, and death by suicide in a strange land, he would have had `acres of diamonds.' For every acre of that old farm, yes, every shovelful, afterward revealed gems which since have decorated the crowns of monarchs."

The following from the classic Thousand and One Nights is obviously the basis for Conwell's tale.

II. The Dream, a selection from Arabian Nights

(Tales from the Thousand and One Nights, trans. N.J. Dawood,(Penguin Books, 1973, pp.328-329, permission pending.)

The Dream

There lived once in Baghdad a merchant who, having squandered all his wealth, became so destitute that he could make his living only by the hardest labor.

One night he lay down to sleep with a heavy heart, and in a dream a man appeared to him, saying: `Your fortune lies in Cairo. Go and seek it there.'

The very next morning he set out for Cairo and, after many weeks and much hardship on the way, arrived in that city. Night had fallen, and as he could not afford to stay at an inn he lay down to sleep in the courtyard of the mosque.

Now as the Almighty's will would have it, a band of robbers entered the mosque and from there broke into an adjoining house. Awakened by the noise, the owners raised the alarm and shouted for help; then the thieves made off. Presently the Chief of Police and his men arrived on the scene. They entered the mosque and, finding the man from Baghdad lying in the courtyard, seized him and beat him with their clubs until he was nearly dead. Then they threw him into prison.

Three days later the Chief of Police ordered his men to bring the stranger before him.

`Where do you come from?' asked the chief.

`From Baghdad.'

`And what has brought you to Cairo?'

`A man appeared to me in a dream, saying: "Your fortune lies in Cairo. Go and seek it there." But when I came to Cairo, the fortune I was promised proved to be the blows your men so generously gave me.'

When he heard this, the Chief of Police burst out laughing. `Know then, you fool,' he cried, `that I too have heard a voice in my sleep, not just once but on three occasions. It said: "Go to Baghdad, and in a cobbled street lined with palmtrees you will find such-and-such a house, with a courtyard of grey marble; at the far end of the garden there is a fountain of white marble. Under the fountain a great sum of money lies buried. Go there and dig it up." But would I go? Of course not. Yet, fool that you are, you have come all the way to Cairo on the strength of one idle dream.'

Then the Chief of Police gave the merchant some money. `Here,' he said, `take this. It will help you on the way back to your own country.'

The merchant recognized at once that the house and garden just described were his own. He took the money and set out promptly on his homeward journey.

As soon as he reached his house he went into the garden, dug beneath the fountain, and uncovered a great treasure.

Thus the words of the dream were wonderfully fulfilled, and Allah made the ruined merchant rich again.

III. Kubla Khan

(Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, selected by Babette Deutsch, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967, p74-75, permission pending.)

In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
A stately pleaure-dome decree:
Where Alph, the sacred river, ran
Through caverns measureless to man
    Down to a sunless sea.
So twice five miles of fertile ground
With walls and towers were girdled round.
and there were gardens bright with sinuous rills,
Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree;
And here were forests ancient as hills,
Enfolding sunny spots of greenery.

But oh! that deep romantic chasm which slanted
Down the green hill athward a cedarn cover!
A savage place! as holy and enchanted
As e'er beneath a waning moon was haunted
By woman wailing for her demon-lover!
And from this chasm, with ceaseless turmoil seething,
As if this earth in fast thick pants were breathing,
A mighty fountain momently was forced:
Amid whose swift half-intermitted burst
Huge fragments vaulted like rebounding haif,
Or chaffy grain beneath the thresher's flail:
And 'mid these dancing rocks at once and ever
It flung up momently the sacred river
Five miles meandering with a mazy motion
Through wood and dale the sacred river ran,
Then reached the caverns measureless to man,
And sank in tumult to a lifeless ocean:
And 'mid this tumult Kubla heard from far
Ancestral voices prophesying war!
    The shadow of the dome of pleasure
    Floated midway on the waves;
    Where was heard the mingled measure
    From the fountain and the caves,
It was a miracle of rare device,
A sunny plesure-dome with caves of ice!

    A damsel with a dulcimer
    In a vision once I saw
    It was an Abyssinian maid,
    And on her dulcimer she played,
    Singing on Mount Abora.
    Could I revive within me
    Her symphony and song,
    To such a deep delight 'twould win me,
That with music loud and long,
I would build that dome in air,
That sunny dome! those caves of ice!
And all who heard should see them there,
And all should cry, Beware! Beware!

His flashing eyes, his floating hair!
Weave a circle round him thrice,
And close your eyes with holy dread,
For he on honey-dew hath fed,
And drunk the milk of Paradise.

IV. Omar Khayyam: Quatrains

(Edward Fitzgerald: "Rubal'iyyat of Omar Khayyam," in *Anthology of Islamic Literature*, edited by James Kritzeck, New York: Holt, Rinehard & Winston, 1964, pp..167-169, permission pending.)

A Book of Verses under the Bough
A Jug of Wine, a Loaf of Bread -- and Though
Beside me singing in the Wilderness --
Oh, Wilderness were Paradise enow!

Come, fill the Cup, and in the fire of Spring
Your Winter-garment of Repentance fling:
The Bird of Time has but a little way
To flutter -- and the Bird is on the Wing.

With me along the strip of Herbage strown
That just divides the desert from the sown.
Where name of Slave and Sultan is forgot--
and peace to Mahmud on his golden Throne!

I sometimes think that never blows so red
The Rose as where some buried Caesar bled;
That every Hyacinth the Garden wears
Dropt in her Lap from some once lovely Head.

For some we loved, the loveliest and the best
That from his Vintage rolling Time hath prest
Have drunk their Cup a Round or two before,
And one by one crept silently to rest.

Myself when young did eagerly frequent
Doctor and Saint, and heard great argument
About it and about; but evermore
Came out by the same door where in I went.

With them the seed of Wisdom did I sow,
And with mine own hand wrought to make it grow
And this was all the Harvest that I reap'd --
"I came like Water, and like Wind I go."

Perplext no more with Human or Divine,
Tomorrow's tangle to the winds resign,
And lose your fingers in the tresses of
The Cypress-slender Minister of Wine.

A Hair perhaps divides the False and True;
Yes; and a single Alif were the clue --
Could you but find it -- to the Treasure-house,
And peradventure to The Master too.

You know, my Friends, with what a brave Carouse
I made a Second Marriage in my house;
Divorced old barren Reason from my Bed,
And took the Daughter of the Vine to Spouse.

I sent my Soul through the Invisible
Some letter of that After-life to spell:
And by and by my Soul return'd to me,
And answer'd "I Myself am Heav'n and Hell."

Heav'n but the Vision of fulfill'd Desire,
And Hell the Shadow from a Soul on fire,
Cast on the Darkness into which Ourselves,
So late emerged from, shall so soon expire.

The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ,
Moves on: nor all your Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it.

Oh Thou, who didst with pitfall and with gin
Beset the Road I was to wander in,
Though wilt not with Predestined Evil round
Enmesh, and then impute my Fall to Sin!

Indeed, indeed, Repentance oft before
I swore -- but was I sober when I swore?
And then and then came Spring, and Rose-in-hand
My thread-bare Penitence apieces tore.

Ah Love! could you and I with Him conspire
to grasp this sorry Scheme of Things entire,
Would not we shatter it to bits -- and then
Remould it nearer to the Heart's Desire!

V. Displaying the Orient

(Zeynep Celik: *Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth Century World's Fair*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford 1992, pp.17-20, 28-32, 55-59. Permission pending))

Displays of Indigenous People

The young disciplines of anthropology and ethnography popularized their methods and publicized their discoveries at the nineteenth-century universal expositions. The displays of non-Western peoples at the nineteenth century world's fairs were organized around the anthropologist's concept of distance. "Natives" were placed in "authentic" settings, dressed in "authentic" costumes, and made to perform "authentic" activities, which seemed to belong to another age. They formed *tableaux* vivants, spectacles that fixed societies in history. Mixing entertainment with education, these spectacles painted the world at large in microcosm, with an emphasis on the "strangeness" of the unfamiliar. Describing a procession to be held at the Midway of the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, the *Chicago Tribune* emphasized its theatricality:

"It will be a unique procession, one which cannot be seen elsewhere, and one which never may be seen here again after the Fair closes: Headed by the United States regulars, there will follow in picturesque array Turks with Far-Away Moses leading them, Bedouins, sedan bearers, Algerians, Soudanese, the grotesque population of the Cairo Street, with its wrestlers, fencers, jugglers, donkey boys, dancing girls, eunuchs, and camel drivers, Swiss guards, Moors and Persians, the little Javanese, South Sea islanders, Amazons, Dahomans, etc.... The march of this heterogeneous conglomeration of strange peoples, brilliant in color and picturesque in attire, will be enlivened by music of all kinds.... It will be a picture in miniature of the World of the Orient in this newest city of the Occident, and a day's diversion in the routine of sight-seeing which will be of an agreeable if not exciting character to witness the queer and strange spectacle."

Such spectacles also served the politics of colonialsim. The display of both subject peoples and products from foreign possessions made colonialism concrete to those at home and reaffirmed the colonizing society's "racial superiority," manifest in its technical, scientific, and moral developments--as the French prime minister Jules Ferry argued in the 1880s. The inclusion of native populations in the fairs was much discussed at the time. An anonymous article on the Tunisian section in 1889 argued that it was essential to display the colonized people "to give more reality and life to the buildings [erected on the site]." Furthermore, without the display of colonial subjects, an exposition would fail to "embrace all phases of life and work in the colonies." When the organizers of the Universal Exposition in 1900 considered excluding displays of people from the French colonies, they encountered strong opposition. Charles Lemire, the honorary resident general, argued that because the French needed to be better informed about the races inhabiting the colonies and protectorates, the fairs should show the different racial types in appropriate environments. At the same time, the natives would have the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the metropole. Lemire suggested how the exposition could diffuse information about the colonized and the colonizer:

"Useful products, racial types, specimens of ancient and modern art, these are the indigenous elements to conglomerate; French products, resources of the metropole, contact with the French [in France], these are the continental elements to offer to the indigenous."

According to the anthropologist Burton Benedict, human displays at the world's fairs were organized into national and racial hierarchies." The nineteenth-century "scientific" approach, based on an interpretation of Darwinian theories, emphasized classification, the diversity of racial types, and the hierarchy of these types. Benedict summarized the classification of human types at the fairs as follows: (1) people as technicians, with a technician acting as part of a machine on display; (2) people as artisans, with an emphasis on tradition and ethnicity as well as the "handmade" qualities of the products; (3) people as curiosities or freaks, with an emphasis on abnormal physiology and behavior; (4) people as trophies, most typically the conquered displayed by the conquerer in special enclosures; and (5) people as specimens or scientific objects, as subjects of anthropological and ethnographic research.

The displays of Muslim people fit all these categories except the first. Machines belonged to the advanced nations, and in only a few cases, which involved rather primitive inventions, where Muslims associated with them. One such example was the "Turkish fire engine" in the Columbian exposition, "carried on a sort of sedan chair arrangement by as many bare-legged Turks as can get hold of it."

The enthusiastic reception of the belly dance was closely linked to the Parisian entertainment industry in the nineteenth century, specifically to the popular dances performed in the cabarets of the star, which originated in these establishments, extended to the Fathmas, Feridjees, Aichas, and Zohras who took their place among the erotic female dancers of the time: *La Goulue* (The Glutton), *Nini Pattes en l'air* (Nini Paws-in-the-Air), *Mome Fromage* (Mistress or Kid Cheese), *Grille d'Egout* (Sewer Grate), and many others. The Islamic theatres at the expositions complemented the city's own places of pleasure--its streets, cafe-concerts, and cabarets. In these theaters, amid architecturally "authentic" settings, belly dancers presented the element of Muslim life most intriguing to Europeans, one that for at least seventy-five years had been a focus of Orientalist painters and writers.

As Parisian dance and the belly dance exchanged characteristics, both were transformed. For example, in 1889 the belly dancers' accessories were limited to swords and mirrors: in the dance of the sword, the dancer's clattering swords accompanied the violins and the violas; in the dance of the mirror, the dancer flirted with her reflection in a "real pantomime of coquetry." The belly dancers in the Egyptian theater in 1900 used more elaborate props: several glasses on the belly, a narghile or candelabra on the head, or a chair in the mouth.

In colonial displays people were frequently displayed as trophies. Artisans working in traditional crafts in small settings that re-created the "authenticity" of their place of origin were "trophies in special enclosures." "Colonial soldiers" were presented similarly in 1889 and in 1900, when armed Algerians in their local costumes, in a setting designed to evoke the colony, "gave legitimate satisfaction to [French] patriotic feelings."

People were presented as subjects of research more often than in any other guise at the fairs. The aura of these displays was "scientific," as was the language used to describe them. In 1867 a certain Doctor Warnier compared the physiology and character of the Arab and the Berber. The Arab was tall and thin, with a "pyriform" skull, a narrow forehead, an arched and bony nose, and black eyes, hair, and beard; the Berber was of medium height, with a

large round skull, broad straight forehead, fleshy nose, square jaw, and eyes, hair, and beard varying from black to red. Whereas the Arab was a fighter who enjoyed war but was otherwise undisciplined, a "born enemy of work, the Berber was the opposite: he was docile, worked hard, and because of his intelligence could "become a devoted auxiliary of European and Christian colonization." The Arab looked Asiatic, the Berber European.

The Tunisian musicians in Paris in 1878, of a "type bien africain," displayed the traits of a "beautiful race, indolent, sleepy, but with features not lacking nobility or energy"; the "Arabesque races" on the fairgrounds in 1889 were of the "Israelite type"; the Arabs of the Algerian theater were "generally handsome, having preserved the nervous grace and the pride of nomadic races." Behavioral attitudes were also displayed. The Arabs of the Camp of Damascus in the Turkish village in Chicago "squatted about as at home. They had little occupation, except the smoking of the narghile, without which [they] would consider [their] hours of leisure devoid of any pleasure."

The "scientific" display of indigenous peoples seemed to require that all the races from a specific region be included to give fair goers as complete a picture as possible. The Cairo Street in Chicago had Jews, Franks, Greeks, Armenians, Nubians, Sudanese, Arabs, and Turks...representing faithfully the population of the old city of Egypt." The Tunisian section in 1900 had 140 Jews and Muslims (Moors and Berbers), "representing the different types one encounters in Tunisia." The contemporary press, echoing the notion of a microcosm, commonly published images of all the racial types to be seen on the fairgrounds. The caption for a photographic collage from the Columbian Exposition dwelt on the diversity of the thirteen racial types depicted:

"To say that all these characters were taken from a street less than a mile long, would seem to indicate a most heterogeneous massing of nations, but when is added the thought that they are but types, and that each one represented from twenty to fifty more, the idea becomes quite overpowering. These individuals represented Europe, Asia, Africa, North America, South America, and the islands of the South Pacific."

The hierarchy of races in the world's fair displays made the premises of nineteenth-century anthropology and ethnography constituents of mass culture in Europe and America. Indeed, the reception of non-Westerners at the expositions demonstrates this clearly. For example, in 1889 Parisian women "very quickly learned to treat the indigenous with a maternal charity;... they considered them big children *(grands enfants)*.

- **Muslim Sovereigns at the Fairs**

The 1867 Universal Exhibition in Paris was marked by important visits from two Muslim sovereigns: Governor Ismail Pasha of Egypt and, some weeks later, Sultan Abdulaziz of the Ottoman Empire, the first in his dynasty to leave the empire for a purpose other than war. These visits were major events, chronicled in minute detail. Parisians were intensely curious about Ismail Pasha and Abdulaziz, both of whom traveled with their entourages and were honored guests of Napoleon III. As one newspaper noted at the time, a few days after the sultan's arrival "the Parisian population [was] divided into two very distinct classes: those who had seen the sultan and those who had not." A ceremony at the Palais d'Industrie, where the sultan sat next to Emperor Napoleon III and Empress Euguenie, attracted between "twenty and thirty thousand people."

Ismail Pasha and Abdulaziz became the highlights of the exhibition. In Abdulaziz's honor, a splendid decor was put up in the Palais d'Industrie. A white drapery studded with golden stars lined the semicircular glass roof, crimson velvet draperies trimmed with gold lace hung from the galleries, and the imperial throne with its towering golden canopy dominated the room. Here, as if on a magnificent stage, the French emperor and empress sat with the sultan while an orchestra of twelve hundred musicians played. The three rulers were as much on display as the different products exhibited on an elevated platform before the throne.

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Crossroads
The Modern Period

American Magic in a Moroccan Town

(Hannah Davis: "American Magic in a Moroccan Town," *Middle East Report*, July/August, 1989 No. 159, Vol. 19 No.4. pp.12-13, permission pending.)

Fatna held up the knot of hair. It was a magic spell. "But what does it mean?" I asked, looking suspiciously at the neatly-tied brown square knot. "And whose hair is it?"

"Why do you think Khadija has been coming over every day? She wants me to marry her brother Muhammad. This is probably her mother's hair. The mother's hair is the most powerful."

"You mean it's to make you fall in love with him?"

"Or to keep me from falling in love with anyone else." Fatna took back the hair-knot and disappeared into the john, emerging a few minutes later smiling mysteriously. "I pissed on it," she told me.

"Does that get rid of the magic?" I began to ask, but Fatna was getting up and slipping a cassette into the video machine. The movie began with the image of a lone TV set, playing to an empty room. The national anthem was announcing the end of the broadcast day. With an effort, I tore my eyes away from the movie and tried again.

"Why does she want you to marry her brother?"

On the TV within the video, the American flag was waving. Fatna ignored me to watch the beginning of the film. The rest of the family settled comfortably onto the sofas. I gave up and turned to the film.

A little blond girl was toddling down the stairs of a middle-class suburban home. She sat down in front of her TV set. "They're coming," she chanted in a singsong voice, her hand reaching out toward the blank TV screen.

- ***Overlapping Symbols***.

Watching *Poltergeist* and discussing magic with my Moroccan hosts brought me to the artful and seamless way in which my friends in Sidi Slimane weave together cultural elements from different sources. It is not the contrast between the different elements that is striking: it is the lack of contrast, the clever and taken-for-granted integration. When the film was over and we sat down to a late lunch, Fatna's mother launched into several tales of haunted houses, stories not meant to rival Spielberg but merely within the same genre. Fatna then flatly announced, in a tone that defied contradiction, that she had seen *The Exorcist* and that everything in it was true, that she had seen it all in real life at an actual exorcism in Kenitra. The possessed woman had levitated, foamed at the mouth, and so on. Fatna used Western horror films as support for the validity of magic. All these different cultural artifacts -- the entertainment of the Spielberg movie, the terrifying drama of spirit possession and exorcism, and even the petty manipulations of marriage magic -- were for her part of one unified cultural world.

Symbols from different parts of the world overlap; a picture of the king of Morocco hangs next to a poster of the Beatles. The sounds of a religious festival outside the window (the nasal honking of the oboe-like raita, the chanting of the crowd) mingled with the televised cheering of soccer fans as Morocco goes up against Cameroon in the African Nations Cup. Activities are proximate: in the morning we watch a holy man cure a boy, then stop off at the fair where we see a woman doing motorcycle stunts; in the evening we watch an Indian fairy tale or a Brazilian soap opera or an Egyptian romance.

These kinds of transnational cultural symbols come at you from all sides in Morocco, and the town of Sidi Slimane is no exception. American or other non-Moroccan cultural artifacts which may seem familiar to a Western visitor are transformed by their setting and manner of reception. They may become status symbols; justifications for local beliefs or behaviors; symbolic repositories for what is hated, rejected, and feared, or for what is longed-for and admired. They may play several of these roles at the same time. In any case, they are incorporated into the social and cultural scene, actively interpreted and reinterpreted, judged according to local moral standards but also used to counter these standards. Often they symbolize the possibility of escape from the frustrations and limitations of daily life in Sidi Slimane.

Sidi Slimane's 50,000 people live in the middle of a rich Moroccan agricultural region, most of them in squat, two-story apartment buildings whose ugliness is relieved by gracefully carved doorways and cool, richly-colored tile floors and walls. The law against grazing animals within city limits is flagrantly disregarded, and cows and sheep live well on the garbage that litters the town. In the dusty streets taxis and cars struggle past motorbikes and horse-drawn wagons.

Prior to the arrival of the French early in this century, there was no urban center here, just farms clustered around the tomb of the local saint Sidi Slimane. The French had high hopes for the region agriculturally, and as the countryside was irrigated and transformed into huge estates growing wheat and citrus fruits and wine grapes, the town itself took on the form of a little European village complete with railroad stations, movie theater, bakery shop, a church (now deserted) and luxurious villas hidden behind high walls.

But the real turning point for Sidi Slimane was the arrival of the American troops. The US military base, established in 1942, drew peasants from all over the surrounding countryside; the men to work as drivers, carpenters or mechanics, the women as nannies or prostitutes. Older Slimanis remember this era well. Often a 60-year -old Slimani will greet me enthusiastically, pulling from his pocket a faded picture of a youthful soldier.

On the back will be a faint scrawl, "Best to my friend Muhammad, from Bill." Or a wizened woman will come up, smiling a toothless smile that turns her tattooed face into a mass of wrinkles, and say, "Okay, Charley's all right," pronouncing the words with a perfect Midwestern accent.

"Everyone knows that Sidi Slimane is the first place in Morocco where they drank Coke," the pasha of the town told me. "Oh, so there was some influence of American culture here." I replied "Culture?" said the pasha, looking blank. "Coke's just a drink."

Rai and Franco-Maghrebi Identities

("Arab Noise and Ramadan Nights: Rai, Rap and Franco-Maghrebi Identities," Joan Gross, David McMurray, Ted Swedenburg. *Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity.* Duke University Press, pp.1-7 Permission pending)

- *Can't Take No Moor*

"For two thousand years, essentially the same people have posed the same dangers to us. Aren't the Iranian mujahidin the descendants of the Persians who were defeated at Marathon; isn't the Islamic World, now striking at Europe's frontiers and slowly penetrating her, composed of the sons of the Ottoman Turks who reached Vienna, and the Arabs who Charles Martel routed at Poitiers?" (*Jean-Marie Le Pen)*

In the aftermath of the Berlin Wall's collapse, Western Europe has been forced to rethink its identity. If in the recent past its conception of itself as a haven of democracy and civilization depended--in part--on a contrast to the evils of the Communist Empire, today an idea is being revived of Europe as "Christendom," in contradistinction to "Islam." Only this time around, the Islam in question is not being held back at Europe's Spanish or Balkan frontiers but has penetrated its very core, via new "minority" populations of Muslim background. Questions about the nature of Europe's identity and the place of Muslim immigrants within it are now among the most contentious on the Continent. So acute is the anxiety about the 10-12 million "immigrants" that many white Western Europeans feel that they are living under cultural and economic siege.

Spanish novelist Juan Goytisolo brilliantly lampoons this European hysteria about "foreigners" in his hilariously provocative *Land- scapes after the Batile.* It opens with the inexplicable appearance of unintelligible scrawls on the walls of the Parisian neighborhood of Le Sentier. At first the natives assume the marks are the secret language of a gang of kids, but then someone spots a man with "kinky black hair" inscribing the mysterious messages. The natives conclude that the scrawls are written in a real alphabet--but backwards--and are the handiwork of "those foreigners who, in ever-increasing numbers, were stealthily invading the decrepit buildings abandoned by their former tenants and offering their labor to the well-heeled merchants of Le Sentier". Then one morning, a working-class native of Le Sentier drops in at his local bar for a pick me-up of Calvados, only to discover that the sign identifying his tavern had been replaced by one written in that incomprehensible script. Wandering through the neighborhood, he is horrified to find that every marker--the Rex cinema's marquee, McDonald's, street signs, the placard on the district mayor's office--had been transformed. A catastrophic, cacophonous traffic jam had broken out, for drivers could not decipher the street signs, and the traffic police were no help. "Trying to hide his laughter, a swarthy-skinned youngster with kinky hair purveyed his services as guide to whichever helpless soul bid the highest" "[Colonized by those barbarians!" the unnerved Le Sentier native thinks to himself.

Goytisolo's 1982 send-up of the French nightmare about *immigres* seems remarkably prescient today, more than a decade after its publication. For French antipathy is especially virulent towards those "foreigners" who have been coming from North Africa for decades and who utilize that "backward" script, Arabic. French society has never come to terms with the legacy of colonization or its bloody war against the Algerian national liberation movement, which cost one million Arab and ten thousand French lives. Instead, one might imagine, from the frenzied reactions of so many white French men and women to all things "Arab" and "Islamic," that colonialism had been a magnanimous and bloodless project and that the Arabs in France are living in the lap of luxury and have nothing to complain about.

So severe are apprehensions about the *immigre* "problem" that during the "hijab affairi" of 1989, when nine female Franco-Maghrebi students in state-run *lycees* demanded the right to wear Islamic headscarves, the media fused the signifiers "immigrant," "Muslim fundamentalist" and "invasion" together into a spector of an eventual Islamic France--a vision that horrified a good portion of the French population, on both the left and right. Even President Francois Miterrand,who postures as an anti-racist, was prompted to assert that the country had gone beyond "the threshold of tolerance". Ex-prime minister Jacques Chirac, mayor of Paris and leader of the right-wing Rally for the Republic (RPR), complained about the "overdose of immigrants"--a codeword for "Arabs"--while former president Valery Giscard d'Estaing warned of a foreign "invasion". These elite opinions lent legitimacy to widespread popular sentiments. Two surveys in 1991 indicated that 71 percent of the French populace thought there were too many Arabs in the country and that over thirty percent of the electorate supported the platform of Jean-Marie Le Pen's far-right National Front which calls for the expulsion of *immigres.* And Jacques Chirac, in a now-infamous statement, expressed his sympathy for the decent French working people who are being driven "understandably crazy" by the "noise and smell" of foreigners.

"Noise and smell"--music and cuisine--are crucial cultural forms of expression, essential vehicles through which North Africans assert, sustain, and reconfigure their identities in France. And probably the most well-known

type of "Arab noise" blasting out of boomboxes in Maghrebi neighborhoods in Paris and Marseille is *rai* music, a genre which arrived in the US under the category of "World Music" in the late eighties.

Boom Box in Ouarzazate

(Ossman, Susan: "Boom Box in Ouarzazate: The Search for the Similarly Strange," in *Middle East Report*, September-October 1995, pp.12-14, permission pending)

The exotic can include viewing nomads if one is from Marseilles, or sampling whiskeys in a hotel bar if one is from Riyadh. One afternoon with Tarik and Hassan in their ritual village I learned about the latest British bands and scrutinized France and Morocco with young men who'd never been to Casablanca, never mind Paris.

In 1987, during one of my first visits to Morocco, I attended a series of rock concerts in Marrakesh with a group of friends who had been invited to the event to represent their youth group. The organizers of the concerts, the local Grand Atlas association, invited us to tour the medina [old city]. During one such walk, one of the Marrakeshis talked about how delicious steamed sheep's head would be for lunch. In spite of the torrid July heat, most of our group agreed that a casual lunch in a small restaurant was a fine idea.

Inside the stuffy, smoke filled restaurant, one of our hosts began to dissect the steaming meat and offer the best pieces to us, his guests. Meanwhile, a young friend from Paris remarked to me that this was certainly no tourist spot: imagine eating sheep's head in such a run-down place! As the sweat poured down my face, I asked him what made him think we were not tourists. After all, we had come from Paris to a city we knew little about, and we were spending our time visiting quaint neighborhoods and eating what were, for us, exotic foods. "Tourists don't go out of their hotels," he explained, surprised that I did not affirm his feeling of having an exceptional experience. "They never come to places like this."

My Parisian friend expressed much of what contemporary tourism is all about. In Morocco, although Club Med and its strategy of isolation prosper, one cannot say that tourists generally seek to remain sheltered from locals through the kind of tourist-village experience as seen as typical by my friend. Rather, foreign as well as domestic tourists often consider their trips to be enhanced by some contact with "others." Accounts of sojourns to the Atlas mountains, the Sahara or the imperial cities of Fez, Meknes, Marrakesh, Rabat and Sale often include vivid accounts of how an individual has shown herself capable of engaging locals in conversation, or making a purchase. While complaints about guides and market-haggling are frequent, part of the experience of tourism includes contact with the exotic, and a sense of having somehow mastered differences. Some seek out a heightened sense of risk and strangeness. For others, the exaggerated comfort of deluxe hotels assures difference enough from the everyday.

Another aspect of Morocco's economic and social difficulties appear with extraordinary consistency in tourists' stories and official complains: the phenomenon of the self-proclaimed tourist guide. In my own notes from 1990, I find this entry:

As we drive through the outskirts of Fez, a couple of young men on minibikes are already fast on our trail. A Moroccan's friend is at the wheel, but the car has Casablancan license plates. A dead give away: we are tourist material.

My window is open, and the first young man begins asking if we don't need a hotel. "No thank you, we're visiting friends," I respond. A second biker draws closer, to describe the beauties of "one of the best hotels in Fez, but a cheap one!"

As we shake them off, we drive on toward the center of town. After parking we head toward a cafe. There too, a few boys who look like they should be in school assail us. Each wants to be our "guide." They begin to fight among themselves to decide whose territory we are.

The authorities have tried, more or less successfully, to eliminate non-official guides from Marrakesh and Fez. Official guides wear identifying badges. The actual eradication of non-official guides seems difficult to imagine, though, given that large numbers of poor and unemployed youths live in and near the old medinas frequented by tourists. Most guidebooks advise that the only way to be free of the incessant demands of would-be guides is to hire one of them, and he will shoo-off the others.

The fact is, moreover, that the attitude of shopkeepers, cafe owners and hotel managers is not fundamentally different from that of the guides. For all of those involved in selling a vision of Morocco to tourists, the distinctions between "national" and "international" tourists, and between rich and poor tourists, is negligible. Whether selling themselves, or a vision of their city, or rugs from rural areas and local factories, these Moroccans see tourists as people to listen to their stories and to exchange money for goods. Only in a city like Casablanca, which is listed in most guidebooks as "uninteresting" because it is not "historic," can visitors shake free of constant demands that they need to be "guided."

Even in remote villages, small children flock to see tourists, already savvy about the wealth of these city folk. From my notes:

As my son and I walked with a friend amidst several *qsar* [villages], groups of children asked for dirhams and said "bonjour, madame," "bonjour, monsieur." It was Ramadan, and many people working in Agadir, Casablanca, or Marrakesh were visiting families in the area. The older people yelled at the children, telling them it was *hshuma* [shameful] to follow us around.

In Ouarzazate, we met Tarik and Hassan, two young men walking about as aimlessly as ourselves, except that

they were accompanied by a large boom box playing English rock. We all decided to visit the *suq* [market], because our new acquaintances thought that it was the most "typical" thing to see in the area. We chatted about the journey we planned to Zagora, further south, and about how one of the two youths, still in high school, dreamed of studying French literature in France some day. The fact that I had lived in Morocco for a number of years struck them as oddly interesting, as did our conversation in Moroccan Arabic. But what seemed to interest them most was simply the occasion to talk to people from a different place, and to tell us about their work and their villages.

My recollection of that afternoon with Tarik and Hassan are the flip-side of hassled tourist guide discussions. Here, in a remote village, I learned about the latest British bands and spoke in French with a young man who had never been to Casablanca, let alone Paris. While our relationship involved no money, our meeting was clearly somehow profitable for them as well as for us, a rupture in daily routine. Our interaction was facilitated by what we had in common -- foremost language, but also music, previous journeys and commonly read books. Once we proved interested, and interesting, questions followed to elicit comparisons of our versions of Casablanca or the way Europeans live or what immigrants in Italy experience to those versions available in television and newspaper reports or from the stories of friends or other travellers.

What seemed to remain the same were Tarik and Hassan's notions of what we might want to see or know about Morocco. Their vision of Morocco, and of what visitors should see, was not radically different from that presented in tourist guides and travel brochures: suq, medina, palace, etc. They notice what travellers go to visit, and their extensive information about other places gives them some idea about what their areas have that other places do not. The Moroccan media, too, presents a notion of traditional Moroccan identity which emphasizes some of the same characteristics as tourist literature: hospitality, Islam and historical monuments.

Perhaps the most interesting was the way in which the conversation shifted from questions about Europe and explanations about the market and silver jewelry to talk about Casablanca and Rabat. What was it like, they wanted to know, to live in the big city? Could one study there? How much did it cost to rent a room? Much in the way that our interchange tested received images about Europe, Morocco itself became the object of scrutiny.

Salim Tamari: Tourists with Agendas

(*Middle East Report*, September-October 1995, p 24, permission pending)

One bizarre aspect about life in Palestine is the scrutiny to which we are subjected by journalists, researchers and political tourists who descend daily. Birzeit University is particularly attractive to researchers who come to "do Palestine." At first glance, the benefits would seem great: publicity, access to the media, and protection against institutional harassment by the Israelis. Indeed, this was important during the *Intifada*, when the university was closed for four-and-a-half years.

But there is another side to this obsession. There is a substantial amount of money available to people "doing Palestine," especially if the focus is one of the current hot topics: Islamic fundamentalism, women's movements, Arab-Jewish dialogue, economic development and health all attract legions of academic and semi-academic hustlers in addition to bona-fide researchers. The thin line separating these two groups begins to blur as serious scholars, thirsty for funding, adjust their research to focus on areas that are in demand.

Within Palestine, an entire network of "service centers" have sprung up to cater to well-funded visitors with research agendas. These include data centers, academic escort agencies, car rentals, and even research "stores" (*dakkakim*) that market scholarship. Some *dakkakim* are better funded than several Palestinian universities. It is possible to "rent" a Palestinian research assistant (what anthropologists used to call the "native informant") to do the actual canvassing, interviewing and transcribing of research material, even to the point of writing it up. All this is available for a reasonable fee that can be added to fieldwork expenses budgeted in the research grant. For a few more dollars it is possible to get the same "assistant" with a chauffeured car. Recently two US doctorates were acquired in this fashion, with one of the authors knowing no Arabic except "*ti'mil ma'ruf*" (do me a favor).

Thus a division of labor emerges in which "visiting scholars" are able to dictate the terms in which Palestinian discourse is packaged and presented, while Palestinian "consultants" serve a proletarian function in this scholarly multinationalism.

Increasingly, local Palestinian scholars are trying to subvert their disadvantaged position in this relationship, but in the wrong way: by adopting the paradigms and modes of operation utilized by visiting luminaries. This is because the agendas of international agencies determine where the research money goes and what the research priorities are. In their quest for legitimacy and a working relationship with the local community, moreover, these agencies employ staff consultants and administrators from the cadres of the local scholarly community. The temptations are great for Palestinian scholars to leave their posts in local universities, where the average monthly pay is considerably lower than a taxi driver's, for jobs in UN agencies or European or American non-governmental organizations where salaries are double or triple this amount.

The result is a depletion of the ranks of serious scholars (to the limited extent that they existed) within national institutions and their employment in the service of the research equivalent of fast food: opinion polls, sectoral surveys and the like. The blame, of course, cannot be laid

entirely on the doorsteps of these agencies; Palestinian scholars, like their Arab and Western counterparts, are often ready to sell themselves and their work for the right price.

Mahmoud al-Buraikan

(Mahmoud al-Buraikan: "Tale of the Assyrian Statute," translated by Lena Jayyusi and Naomi Shihab Nye, in *Modern Arabic Poetry, An Anthology*, edited by Salma Khadra Jayyusi, New York: Columbia University Press, 1987 pp.188-191, Reprinted with permission)

Tale of the Assyrian Statue

In a glass room
In a museum that squats
in a lost city that crouches
in a deserted land
on a vast continent
I live, elevated, confronting the eyes of men,
and paralyzing them.
At silence's end, I shake off
the events of time, and the
terror of the ninth century.

Idol of Nineveh
Its Master
In an inscrutable moment
My being emerged
to the echo of a chisel
in the hands of a sculptor
in the hall of stones and clay.

In terror, tribes of the dead
make me blood offerings
    How many voices
tremble with the nightmare in the cadence
of the chant
I was called many names
Scented with perfumes and essences,
Hung with rings
My eyes, two diamonds that pierce
the night,
come from mines whose secrets
no man has discovered

Does Time admit to this memory?
I have seen the gentle moon
at night's beginning, heard the tumult
of the earthquake before the hour of ten.
I have seen the horses
invade women's cloisters
I saw the lances rise high
with skulls of men
I saw the heads twitch
after the sword's descent
I saw how the bride dances in the ceremony
of death,
and how suns extinguish
the storms of capitals.

Does Time admit to this memory?
The fall of castles and walls
drought and rains
wheat and iron
and the power of the sword, at which men stare
with awe, as it lies
in its leather scabbard?

Does Time admit
to that allusion?
The secret date
for the death of a legend
and the beginning of an impossible undertaking,
the plagues of history
cycles of unknown duration,
the blaze of fires coloring
faces, coloring the gardens and sky,
the will to power
the lust to destroy.

I have lost my jewels
been stripped of my rings,
my locks sheared
I've been rolled off my original base
moved from place to place
The owls and eagles spoke to me,
little boys climbed my ribs
A hammer was once tested on my body
I was tied with ropes,
dragged along, stretched out on my face,
behind a pair of mules.
Once I guarded a wall
Another time I stood at the gate of a palace
Marched in file in one of the armies,
Was abandoned in the desert,
spread out, to be washed by the gales,
for the hot sandstorms to dry out
my deepest chambers,
casting an eternal gaze,
my white sockets open
to the world of stars.

The sea recedes, only the shells remain
    at the bottom of the earth
wind after wind
redistributes the red sands.
    The ravens
have landed here, and meshed into the cycle of the horizon
Eagles' wings have fluttered
on my neck, then burned on the summits
of sand dunes.
Old wolves made a pillow of my body
as they passed by, fleeing to somewhere.
Caravans of thieves

took shade at my sides, where precious stones
left their mark, where ants built
the earthen kingdom of blind balance.

In the glass room
I stand erect, women stare
at my uncomplicated body,
(stare precisely at the center of the crotch)
children take delight
because my ear has fallen off, and my eyebrow is broken,
because in my chest
there is a gaping hole (so frightening in the light)
In the glass room
sound does not enter
the surface of death is not touched
Some men appear, and continue whispering,
perhaps about my left nail.
In the glass room
the worn-out fingers do not fall off
the sun does not penetrate, but the microscope does.
In the glass room alone
The solitary corpse stands erect.

T.S. Eliot: The Wasteland

(T.S. Eliot, "The Wasteland," In T.S. Eliot's Collected Poems: 1909-1962 New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970, 65-67 Permission pending)

IV. Death By Water

Phlebas the Phoenician, a fortnight dead,
Forgot the cry of gulls, and the deep sea swell
And the profit and loss.
A current under sea
Picked his bones in whispers. As he rose and fell
He passed the stages of his age and youth
Entering the whirlpool.
Gentile or Jew
O you who turn the wheel and look to windward,
Consider Phlebas, who was once handsome and tall as you.

V. What the Thunder Said

After the torchlight red on sweaty faces
After the frosty silence in the gardens
After the agony in stony places
The shouting and the crying
Prison and palace and reverberation
Of thunder of spring over distant mountains
He who was living is now dead
We who were living are now dying
With a little patience

Here is no water but only rock
Rock and no water and the sandy road
The road winding above among the mountains
Which are mountains of rock without water
If there were water we should stop and drink
Amongst the rock one cannot stop or think
Sweat is dry and feet are in the sand
If there were only water amongst the rock
Dead mountain mouth of carious teeth that cannot spit
Here one can neither stand nor lie nor sit
There is not even silence in the mountains
But dry sterile thunder without rain
There is not even solitude in the mountains
But red sullen faces sneer and snarl
From doors of mudcracked houses
If there were water
And no rock
If there were rock
And also water
And water
A spring
A pool among the rock
If there were the sound of water only
Not the cicada
And dry grass singing
But sound of water over a rock
Where the hermit-thrush sings in the pine trees
Drip drop drip drop drop drop drop
But there is no water

"Adonis" 'Ali Ahmad Sa'id

("Adonis" 'Ali Ahmad Sa'id, " Resurrection and Ashes," *Modern Arab Poets*, edited and translated by Isaa J. Boullata, Washington, DC: Three Continents Press, 1976, pp.67-72 Permission pending).

V.

Phoenix, O Phoenix
O bird of yearning and burning
O little feather walking with no companion
Dragging darkness and light.
Traveller, your footsteps are as old as a flower
Your glance is a moment of rapture, your look a mine.
Traveller, your Time is the morrow you created
Your Time is the morrow --
the eternal Presence in the morrow
Of a promise:
By it you become a creator, you become a clay
In you heaven and earth unite
O Phoenix, turn around and look at us on your way
O Phoenix, be tender and easy
O Phoenix, die. O Phoenix, die.
And let fires start with you, O Phoenix,
Let anemones start
Let life start,
O Phoenix, O Ashes, O Prayer!

O Phoenix! One who sees our blackness
Does not feel how we are effaced,
Everybody here is the tail of a she-wolf
Or leaves of broken branches
Or wheels of an adolescent driver.
Phoenix! You are the one who sees our blackness
Feels how we are effaced,
O Phoenix, die to redeem us
O Phoenix, let fires start with you
Let anemones start
Let life start
You, O Ashes, O Prayer!

O Phoenix! This is the moment of your new resurrection
The semblance of ashes has become sparks
The Past is awake from its slumber
And creeps in our Presence:
"Anat in her affection for fruits,
Fields and trees
Calls down rain.
Baal, that rider on clouds, is down the pit --
Mot has concealed his face,
Removed him far from mankind.
The river's water has sunk in the earth
Clouds have become a lump of coal
And sap, as dry as a stone.
Anat burst forth like sparks
Strong as if she were destiny,
Reviving as if she were rain.
She raised her sickle and came forth.
Mot vanished, disappeared
Spring is victorious and in bloom
Anat is victorious -- her love is victorious."

O Phoenix! This is the moment of your new resurrection
The semblance of ashes has become sparks,
a starry flame
Spring has crept in the roots, in the earth
The Past is awake from itsslumber:
"The hero turned round towards his adversary.
The beast has a thousand daggers,
Its fangs were like millstones
Its sharp claws were like a snake's poison.
The strong hero was like a lamb
Tammuz was like a lamb -- springing with Spring
With flowers, fields and starry streams
in love with water;
Tammuz is a river of sparks in whose bottom sinks
The sky. Tammuz is a vine's branch
Which birds hide in their nests
Tammuz is like a god.
The hero turned round towards his adversary
Tammuz runs round to his adversary:
His inside sprouting with anemones
His face is clouds, garden of rain.
Lo! His blood is running
In little brooks that have gathered and grown
Into a river
That is still running -- not far from here --
Red in color, dazzling the eyes.
The beast vanished, its divine adversary remained,
That meek lamb, that conquering hero,
He remained with us as anemones
And streams of flowers.
He remained in the river."

O Phoenix, let my sight stay fixed on you
O Phoenix, let my forehead stay captive with you in your heights
Far from our eyelids, far from our hands,
Let me for a last time touch the earth
In your mouldering wing -- Oh let me for a last time
Dream that my lungs are an ember
Coming on a bird's wing
From a horizon of adventure,
Let me smell the temple flame in it
Perhaps Tyre has a mark on it
And perhaps it incarnates Carthage:
The specks of dust in it are flame,
Yes, yes, even the dust is flame
The child in it is firewood, the sacrifice of Becoming
Like a live coal which dies if it does not glow.
Oh let me for a last time
Dream that my lungs are an ember
Whose incense carries me away, flies with me
To a country which I know, which I do not know,
Perhaps to Baalbek, to an altar there,
Oh let me for a last time,
Here I am bending my knee
Here I am sitting in humility,
So let me O Phoenix for a last time, let me dream,
Embrace the fire,
Vanish in the fire,
O pioneer on the Road.

A City Without Rain

Badr Shakir al-Sayyab, "A City Without Rain," translated by Issa J. Boullata in Modern Arab Poets (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1976 p.8-9 Permission pending

Rain...
Rain...
Do you know what sadness the rain evokes?
And how roof-gutters sob when it pours?
And how in it the lonely person feels lost?
Endless is the rain: like shed blood.
Like hunger, love, children and the dead.
Your eyes come to my fancy with rain,
And across the Gulf's waves lightning burnishes
With stars and shells the coasts of Iraq
As if they are about to shine
But night covers them with a robe of gore.
I cry to the Gulf, "O Gulf, O giver of shells and death."
The echo comes back
Like sobs,
"O Gulf,
O giver of shells and death."
I can almost hear Iraq gathering thunder
And storing up lightning in mountains and plains
So that when men break open their seals
The winds will not leave of Thamud
Any trace in the vale.
I can almost hear the palms drink the rain
And hear the villages moaning and the emigrants
Struggling with oars and sails
Against the tempests and thunder of the Gulf while they sing:
"Rain...
Rain...
Rain...
And there is hunger in Iraq!
The harvest season scatters the crops in it
So that ravens and locusts have their full
While a millstone in the fields surrounded by human beings
Grinds the granaries and the stones.
Rain...
Rain...
Rain...
How many a tear we shed, on departure night,
And -- lest we should be blamed -- pretended it was rain.
Rain...
Rain...
Ever since we were young, the sky was
Clouded in the winter,
And rain poured,
Yet every year when the earth bloomed we hungered.
Not a single year passed but Iraq had hunger.
Rain...
Rain...
Rain...
In every drop of rain
There is a red or a yellow bud of a flower.
And every tear of the hungry and the naked,
And every drop shed from the blood of slaves
Is a smile waiting for new lips
Or a roseate nipple in the mouth of a babe
In the young world of tomorrow, giver of life.
Rain...
Rain...
Rain...
Iraq will bloom with rain."

I cry to the Gulf, "O Gulf,
O giver of pearls, shells and death."
The echo comes back
Like sobs,
"O Gulf,
O giver of shells and death."
Of its many gifts, the Gulf strews
On the sand its salty surf and shells
And what remains of the bones of a miserable, drowned
Emigrant who drank death
From the Gulf waters and its bottom,
While in Iraq a thousand snakes drink nectar
From flowers blooming with the dew of the Euphrates.

Beirut - Hell Express

/ Etel 'Adna, "Beirut - Hell Express," *Women of the Fertile Crescent: An Anthology of Modern Poetry by Arab Women*, edited with Translations by Kamal Boullata, Washington DC: Three Continents Press, 1978, pp. 72-83, permission pending).

The human race is going to the cemetery
in great upheavals

taxi drivers urinate standing
on the Damascus-Beirut-Damascus
road
inglorious itinerary
Inhabit the tiniest country
in an expanding universe

I love the women who are veiled
like my aunt used to be
and those who go naked
at the American crossroads where
drugs are growing: they are
crabs lying on the back of
star-fish in the sea

I love men who cover their
head and show but one eye
not the blind one but the one
which looks inside.

In New York I say the hell with America
In Moscow I say the hell with Stalin
In Rabat I say the hell with Hasan II

hello the beggar
hello the fedai
hello to Mohammad the visionary
hello to the prisoner

In the evening when the darkness moves
as slow as mud
I watch the prostitutes
it is forbidden that women
think
I watch our servants
it is forbidden that women go
to sleep
I watch our brides
going to bed alone
it is forbidden that women
lie as gazelles
on the infinite fields of the Arabian plains

Comrade Dostoevsky
is in Beirut -- he stays
at the Orient-Prince Hotel, he
eats at the Horse-Shoe cafe
he swims -- you're not kidding --
at the St. George he yawns
-- imagine that!-- at the A.U.B.
And of this redemption he counts
the typographical errors of the
daily al-Nahar

Comrade Dostoevsky
enjoys but the Koran
understands but compassion

Comrade Dostoevsky
is arrested by the Security Serve
and he laughs laughs and his laughter
is broadcast on the radios of
the whole world

I caught it on channel 14
in California

City more unreal than the wind
although pregnant with the sins of
the world
it is in your belly that foreigners
exercise the alchemy of treason

City! how many crimes in your bars how
much alcohol in the fountains of the old houses
what a monetary orgy in the call of the
muezzin!

city more famous than hell
passenger of all passages
eldest daughter of all trade

object of our nocturnal love
you have intoxicated us with
your irremediable purity

It has been a million years
since the Hashemites left
Mecca in the belly of the first
dinosaur to finish up in this
massacre!

It has been a million years
Since the Amman-Ugliness
Has been condemned on the throne
Of the Apocalypse of the Oil

I took a long walk on Beirut's Corniche
with al-Ghazzali as a companion

I took olive oil in the Greek
Churches and anointed him
Prince of the City

Comrade al-Ghazzali
stays at the Metropol
eats at Barmaki's chats with
his Lebanese friends of the
theater at Wimpys and receives
his mail care of Interpol
His own letters are sent by
a traveling whale

They play the flute in the
popular quarters of the city
in order to quiet down the anger
of the citizens...

The god Shamash has come back
in Irbid
in Zarka
in Ur and in
Basrah

the dead are coming back in order to fight again
because the living are cowards!
people of Beirut
In bikinis and in slips
covered with feathers if
need be
take the first Express

(take the vertebrae and squeeze out
colonialism like pus)

so that there be
air
so that there be
water
so that there be
earth
so that there be
fire

take the Beirut --------Hell Express
take the Express
it is more than too late
the train is whistling stamping spitting
the Beirut ----------Hell Express.

Five Songs to Pain

Nazik al-Mala'ika, "Five Songs to Pain," translated by Issa J. Boullata in Modern Arab Poets (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1976) p.12 Permission pending.

III

From where does Pain come to us,
From where does he Come?
He has been the brother of our visions from time immemorial
And the guide of our rhymes.
Yesterday, we took him to the deep waters
And smashed him there, scattered him on the lake's waves.
We did not leave a sigh of him or a tear
And we thought we returned free from his harm:
He would no longer cast sorrow on our smiles
Or hide bitter sobs behind our songs.
Then we received a red rose of warm fragrance
From our beloved ones overseas.
What did we expect in it? Joy and satisfaction.
But it trembled and ran in warm thirsty tears
Watering the sad tunes of our fingers.
We love you, O Pain,
From where does Pain come to us,
From where does he come?
He has been the brother of our vision from time immemorial
And the guide of our rhymes.
To him, we are mouth and thirst
He revives us and gives us to drink.

*****

Crossroads of Ideas Between East and West

In the post-colonial world, nations such as Egypt are seeking their own way to a productive future. Part of that search is a dialogue which demonstrates that cultural crossroads do not occur only with cultural symbols. There is a crosscurrent of ideas, philosophies, political and economic models which must be navigated. Following are four of many attempts by Muslim Middle Easterners to guide the dialogue.

I. Taha Husayn
1889-1973

(*Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspectives*, edited by John J. Donohue and John L. Esposito, New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982. pp.73-77, 160-168. permission pending)

The Future of Culture in Egypt

At the outset we must answer this fundamental question: is Egypt of the East or of the West? Naturally, I mean East or West in the culture, not the geographical sense.We may paraphrase the question as follows: Is the Egyptian mind Eastern or Western in its imagination, perception, comprehension and judgement? ...The meaning of all this is very clear: the Egyptian mind had no serious contact with the Far Eastern mind; nor did it live harmoniously with the Persian mind. The Egyptian mind has had regular, peaceful, and mutually beneficial relations only with the Near East and Greece. In short, it has been influenced from earliest times by the Mediterranean Sea and the various people living around it....From earliest times Muslims have been well aware of the now universally acknowledged principle

practical foundations.... Islam arose and spread over the world. Egypt was receptive and hastened at top speed to adopt it as her religion and to make the Arabic of Islam her language. Did that obliterate her original mentality? Did that make her an Eastern nation in the present meaning of the term? Not at all! Europe did not become Eastern nor did the nature of the European mind change because Christianity, which originated in the East, flooded Europe and absorbed the other religions. If modern European philosophers and thinkers deem Christianity to be an element of the European mind, they must explain what distinguishes Christianity from Islam; for both were born in the geographical East, both issued from one noble source and were inspired by the one God in whom Easterners and Westerners alike believe.....The essence and source of Islam are the essence and source of Christianity. The connection of Islam with Greek philosophy is identical to that of Christianity. Whence, then, comes the difference in the effect of these two faiths on the creation of the mind that mankind inherited from the people of the Near East and Greece? ...No, there are no intellectual or cultural differences to be found among the peoples who grew up around the Mediterranean and were influenced by it. Purely political and economic circumstances made the inhabitants of one shore prevail against those of the other. The same factors led them to treat each other now with friendliness, now with enmity.

Like the Europeans, we have built railroads, telegraph lines, and telephones. We learned from Europe to sit at the table and eat with a knife and fork. We wear the same kind of clothes. All this we did without discrimination, without examination to know what is actually bad and what is unsuitable for us. So far has the European ideal become our ideal that we now measure the material progress of all individual and groups by the amount of borrowing from Europe. We did not hesitate, for example, to adopt the European system of government; and if we criticize ourselves for something, this is simply that we have been slow in following European administrative and political practices. Our political life in recent times has been in a state of confusion between absolute government and limited government, for which we have no precedent in our Middle Ages. I mean that our modern absolute government was affected by the European absolutism prevalent before the rise of democracy; in similar fashion our form of limited government was shaped by the systems of limited government also existing in Europe.

Proponents of a form of limited government based on justice but without the people's participation accepted curbs to their power that were European not Eastern. They set up national courts and enacted civil laws in conformity with European rather than Islamic codes. Their administrative, fiscal, and economic statutes were almost wholly Western. They sought no guidance from the procedures of the medieval Muslim kings and caliphs. The cabinet, government ministries, and the several administrative agencies connected with them are European in origin, spirit, and form. Until the modern era the Muslims had never heard of them.

Certain old Islamic institutions, to be sure, have survived because of their more or less close association with religion, but even these have changed greatly, at least in form, under the strong influence of their European counterparts. Take the *Shari'a* courts, for example; there is no doubt that if a Muslim judge were to be resurrected today he would find many of the legal procedures unfamiliar. Although we have kept the institution of the *waqf* (endowment foundation), we set up without delay a special ministry to administer it in a way that I believe the ancients would neither recognize nor approve if they were returned to life. Most of us, however, feel that this ministry is still too backward for the times. Some would like to abolish or change the institution of *waqf* itself in conformity with modern economic requirements.

The dominant and undeniable fact of our times is that day by day we are drawing closer to Europe and becoming an integral part of her, literally and figuratively. This process would be much more difficult than it is if the Egyptian mind were basically different from the European.

This is not all. Since the world war we have taken such decisive steps forward that any attempt to retrace them or abrogate the rights won would, I am certain, be violently resisted by many Egyptians. Which one of us is willing to see Egypt retreat from the progress she has made toward democracy, or who would go back to a system that did not center about a constitutional representative government? This form of government, although adopted from Europe, became almost immediately a vital and inseparable part of our being. Anyone urging Egyptians to return to the way of life characteristic of Pharaonic, Greco-Roman, or early Islamic times would be ridiculed by the people, including the arch-conservatives and those who loathe any tampering whatsoever without ancient heritage. We must also realize, too, that our signatures on the treaties by which we gained our independence and rid ourselves of the capitulations have clearly obliged us to follow the Europeans in government, administration, and legislation.

Our educational system is also based on exclusively European methods, which are applied through our primary, secondary, and higher schools. We have been putting into their heads modes of thought and ideas that are almost completely European. I cannot conceive of anyone seriously advocating abandonment of the European system in our schools and revival of techniques used by our ancestors. As a matter of fact, the Europeans borrowed the methods that prevailed in the Islamic world during the Middle Ages. They did then just what we are doing now. It is essentially

a matter of time. They began their new life in the fifteenth century, while we were delayed by the Ottoman Turks until the nineteenth century. If God had preserved us from the Ottoman conquest, we should have remained in unbroken touch with Europe and shared in her renaissance. This would certainly have fashioned a different kind of civilization from the one in which we are now living. However, God has bestowed on us a boon to compensate for our misfortune and calamities. The world has struggled for hundreds of years to attain the present stage of progress. It is within our power to reach it in a short time. Woe to us if we do not seize the opportunity! ... Obviously then I am pleading for a selective approach to European culture, not wholesale and indiscriminate borrowing...

II. Muhammad Nuwayhi

1917-1980

(*Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspectives*, edited by John J. Donohue and John L. Esposito (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press) 1982. pp.73-77, 160-168, permission pending.)

A Revolution in Religious Thought

If we are serious about striving towards a "comprehensive Arab cultural revolution" we must begin by facing this fact, that the first obstacle along this path is religious, and that we will not arrive at the revolution we seek unless we overcome this obstacle and remove it from our path.

Religious objections are always the first to be raised against any new idea, whether the idea deals with problems of religion itself, or with ethics, politics, the system of government, economics, the system of production and distribution of wealth, the traditions, customs, and practice of society, science, philosophy, art, language and literature.

They do not ask themselves: is this opinion right or wrong in itself, or is this school of thought useful or harmful in itself? Instead, they ask themselves, is it in conformity with religion or contrary to it?How can we persuade the people not to set up religion as a stumbling block in the way of every new opinion and every new ideology?

The astonishing thing about it is that most of the non-Muslim thinkers who have studied Islam acknowledge that, in the beginning, Islam was the greatest movement of liberation that human history has ever witnessed, and its striving towards liberation was not limited to the domain of spirit and thought, but went beyond these to the domain of the material and of earthly life. Some of them even characterize the Islamic movement of liberation as "revolutionary" and "modern."

If we reflect on this strange phenomenon, and ask ourselves how it was that a movement which at the beginning was revolutionary, progressive, and modern, could be turned into an agent of intellect petrification and social stagnation, our reflection will lead us to two factors which were not present in Islam originally, but which appeared together during the ages of the decline of Islamic civilization, and became so firmly rooted that the people imagined them to be among the fundamental principles of the Islamic religion. The first was the appearance of a caste [the *ulama*] which monopolized the explanation of religion, claiming that it alone (the caste) had the right to speak in the name of religion and to pass judgement as to which opinions and schools of thought were in agreement with religion and which were in conflict with it. In other words, it was a priestly caste, even though it was not explicitly named as such. The second factor was the conviction of this caste that any laws, decision, and solutions found in earlier religious sources were binding doctrines whose observance was obligatory, and which could not be modified or changed in any respect, whether they dealt with matters of doctrine or touched on the affairs of daily life.

I have said that if we are to bring about the desired cultral revolution, it is necessary that we introduce a radical change in the people's understanding of the nature of religion, and of its function, and of the legitimate scope of its authority. Let me now add that we will not succeed in this unless we call into question the two factors (mentioned above) and demonstrate to what extent they are alien and extraneous to Islam...

Many readers will be quick to say that although other religions established an official priestly caste, this does not apply to Islam, which neither established nor recognized such a caste. This is absolutely true, but what we are concerned with here is what happened in actual fact. It is true that Islam has the distinction acknowledged by many who do not believe in it -- and envied by many believers of other religions -- of being a religion without a priesthood. It has not erected a special class of men to preserve and protect religion and to monopolize the right to represent and explain and apply it -- these being the "religious" men and the rest of the people being "civilians."

But what happened? What became of us? Did there not, as a matter of fact, grow up amongst us a group of people claiming for themselves this guardianship and this monopoly and this representativity? Yes, indeed, and they called themselves "men of religion." Also they [the men of religion] cling to a manner of dressing proper to them, which is called "The religious garb," and in this they imitate perfectly the clergy of the other religions.

The important thing in all this is that [the caste] had hardly come into existence when it claimed for itself the right to draw the lines between faith, unbelief and devotion, and to pass judgement on every opinion, thus setting itself up as the foe of liberty of expression and liberty of discussion....

It is true that the revolutionary government in Egypt has wrested from [the men of religion] the weapon whereby they used religion in support of feudalism, and capitalism, and embezzlement and monopoly. Moreoever, it has got

them to go along with its principal political and economic policies. We now hear them talking about "Socialism" and its agreement with religion. Let us hope they are sincere in what they say. In the other Arab regions, however, which are still subject to reactionary governments, they are still using the authority of religion as a support for political and economic reactionism. Indeed, if we reflect on the present situation in Egypt, for instance, we find that the aggressiveness of the "men of religion" in crushing and repressing new thought is greater today than it was during the first half of the century.

This is the strange and saddening fact which must be acknowledged and faced. A brief look at books written by al-Mazani, al-Aqqad and Taha Husayn written in the twenties and thirties of this century is enough to remind the reader of many daring opinions the likes of which our writers of today could not publish. It is as though our revolutionary government, in exchange for its success in bringing the "men of religion" in Egypt to go along with its principal political and economic policies, paid a heavy price in deferring to their opinions concerning other intellectual and social matters. It [the government] is increasingly sensitive about any issue which might give rise to religious controversy either directly or remotely.

Now that we have discussed the claim by "men of religion" and the *ulama* that they have the right to interdict opinions which they do not like, let us look at their claim that they possess in their religious books a perfect system which solves all problems and answers all questions, a system which is suitable to all places and all times with no need of change or addition, a system which encompasses everything great or small, not only in matters of belief, but also in the affairs of this world and the needs of days.

But is what they say true, and are we compelled to accept it? Those people whose enthusiasm so overpowers their reason that they claim that the Qur'an and the Sunna and the ancient schools [of Islamic Law] have anticipated all modern laws and codes and regulations in providing the answers to all questions and the solutions to all problems -- those people manifest great ignorance on two scores.

The first is their ignorance of modern law and legislation, and of contemporary legal systems, with their great scope, voluminousness and complexity, and of the multiplicity of opinions, schools of thought and interpretations [of legal systems].

They display also their great ignorance of a second area, that of the history of Islamic legislation itself, and of the stages of change and growth which it has passed through, and the vitality, flexibility and broad-mindedness it manifested in the age of its awakening.

Constant evolution actually took place in the early history of Islam. The life of the Muslims of Medina after the death of the Prophet of God was different from what it had been while he was alive. And in the time of the Orthodox Caliphs, there sprang up new problems that did not exist during the time [of the Prophet], peace be on him, and the Orthodox Caliphs and the learned people of their time made laws [concerning these problems]. Moreoever, the life of the Muslims in Syria was different from that of both [Hijaz and Syria]. Likewise life was different in Persia and Egypt and the other conquered lands. And in each of these regions it continued to change with the passage of generations, with the evolution of customs and the variations of circumstances. As a result, Islamic jurisprudence, in its ages of vitality, grew and evolved and expanded and changed in keeping with this continual change.

Every impartial student is convinced that the early legislators did not draw their laws from earlier Islamic legal sources, as is said by certain people among us who speak about the history of Islamic legislation. On the contrary, they used to adopt the laws and procedures of the conquered nations first, and then check them against the Book and the Sunna, looking for an argument and justification for the laws and systems they had adopted from the non-Arabs. [They did this] in exactly the same way as they adopted the philosophy and science of the Greeks, the culture and literature of the Persians, the wisdom and folk-tales of the Indians, the arts and industries of the Byzantines, and other foreign science, learning, industry and art. They did not say "these are non-Islamic cultures, and they will contaminate our Islam if we import them," nor did they say that the Qur'an has everything that the human intellect needs, and that, thanks to the Qur'an [the Muslim] can do without the infidel cultures.

That is what happened and kept on happening during the first centuries of Islam when Islamic legislation still retained its vitality and dynamism, before Islamic civilization allowed itself to stand still and dry up, and then to stiffen and petrify, having locked the doors of *ijtihad*.

Our questions now is this; if life evolved and changed during the first century A.H., and if, during the second, third, and fourth centuries A.H., life became greatly different from what it had been in the time of the Prophet and the Orthodox Caliphs, and if this led to such extensive growth and far-reaching evolution in Islamic legislation, [if all this is true] how can we believe that after all those ages human life suddenly froze and became ossified, there being no need for creativity in law-making or for conforming to varying circumstances and changing customs, or of profiting from the legislation of other nations with whom we continued to rub shoulders and whose customs, structures and procedures continued to influence us?

Apart from fixing the principles of doctrine and the corresponding rites and worship; Islam has done two things; first it has set up the lofty ethical goals which Muslims must try to realize in every law they formulated. But [Islam] allows them, and obliges them, to determine the means for themselves, and to devise the ways in which they will strive for these goals, and to vary [the means] according to the varying requirements of different milieux and the succession of the centuries. That is the only meaning for

"the suitability [of Islam] for all times and places" that we can understand and accept, i e., the capacity for self-renewal in order to conform to all times and places.

The second (of the two things Islam did) is that, in the time of the Prophet, may peace be upon him, Islam, either through Revelation or in the Sunna of the Prophet, laid down the minimum of the civil legislation badly needed by the Muslims. But in doing this, it contented itself with what was absolutely necessary. The reason for this was clear: [Islam] actually preferred to leave it up to the people to create their own solutions by using their own reasoning and expending their knowledge, and exercising their ingenuity and skill, and profiting from their experience. Now the Arabs in the time of the Prophet, may peace be upon him, were in need of quick solutions to certain of the problems which arose out of the sudden sociological transformations accompanying the advent of Islam, the abolition of the *jahili* order, and the establishment of the new state at Medina.

A certain amount of thought concerning this issue will convince us that the logic of the evolution of circumstances is one of the most important principles to which Qur'anic legislation adheres, the significance of this logic is that it brings us face to face with a truth, namely that we have the right to perfect the Qur'anic legislation in areas where it is incomplete, provided that we adhere to its lofty goals. This is the only condition imposed on this work of perfecting [the Qur'anic legislation].

In fact, I believe that our religious thinking has now attained a degree of rationality which should allow us to declare frankly that the ruler, guided by the opinion of competent persons, has the right to prohibit some things which have been permitted, whenever he is persuaded that changing circumstances necessitate that prohibition in order to remedy an evil or prevent corruption. Such a right can also be applied to other problems which now require restrictions not imposed by the original legislation, for example, the husband's right to divorce and to multiple marriages.

When will we gather sufficient courage to admit to ourselves and proclaim to the nation that when we promulgate our new legislation, we are not bound to search for some justification for it in the sayings of an ancient jurisprudent of an old school, preferable or preferred, widespread or restricted, in vigor or defunct, in the Sunna or outside it. The only thing to which obligated is to make sure that the new legislation prevents harm and promotes benefits, and that as long as it does this it goes hand in hand with the spirit of religion and seeks to realize its goals....

III. Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi

(*The Literature of Ideas in Egypt*, edited by Louis Awad, The Regents of the University of California, 1986, pp.38-47, permission pending)

- **From Liberalism to Radicalism**

The right to private land property and to land ownership by appropriation has given an excuse to landowners to proceed in the operation of their property absolutely in the manner they like and to give their laborers only what they think fit. Landowners think that their ownership of the land entitles them to the greatest share, that they are most deserving of the happiness and wealth accruing from agriculture than anyone else, and that no other inhabitant of the kingdom has any right to any of the yield of the land, except in return for work done or services rendered on their land by their own command. It follows from this that any man who wants to earn his livelihood by service, that is, by his labor, is compelled to serve only in proportion to the wage he can obtain from the landowner by the landowner's free will, even if the wage is too little for the work. If there is an abundance of labor in any given area, the wages become scantier and scantier, because the laborers compete for work, thereby contributing only to the interests of the landowner. This is unfortunate because land improves and yields a better harvest by work, and there is no means of improving the fertility of the land and increasing its harvest other than through the agricultural operations of the very peasants whose wages have been decreased.

Landowners, over and above their monopoly of all agricultural production, which they extort from the fellahen class, also monopolize the fruits of all rural industries, for rural industries exist to meet the needs of agriculture, for example, the work of the blacksmith, carpenter, and all such crafts related to agricultural work.

The result of all this is that if someone is not fortunate enough to become a landowner, he continues to be a sharecropper, but his share is so scanty that it never exceeds what the landowner estimates to be his due for his labor or his craft, or as meeting the cost of using instruments and machines necessary for agriculture. If the landowner is generous, he may voluntarily give the sharecropper ample compensation, since the fellah is only paid for his servicing and plowing the land, in accordance with a well-known rule that says: "He who cultivates reaps the harvest," meaning that the harvest goes to the landowner who causes his land to be cultivated. Yet the hadith of the Prophet, God's bliss and blessing be to him, goes: "The plant belongs to the planter," meaning he who sowed the land is entitled to its fruits and is only answerable for the land's rent, not meaning that he who works the land simply receives a substinance wage for his labor.

In the two *sahihs* [the hadith canon of al-Bukhari and the hadith canon of Muslim] it is said that the Prophet, God's bliss and blessing be to him, dealt with the people of Khaybar on the basis of sharing the fruit of the land with them, that is, gave them half the crop in return for their labor. In another version, he gave to the Jews of Khaybar the land with its palm trees in return for their work. What is meant by their work is planting and irrigating the land, for they go together in the hadith. The planting they say was one of barley. By analogy, the same rule applies to other crops like mulukhiya, okra, peaches, and apricots.

These sharecroppers would also involve irrigation. We call it *muzara'a* [sharecropping]. If the landowner provides the seeds we call it *mukhabara*. It is also called equal partnership, as happens in the cultivation of grapes and peaches, where the landowner confides the land of the fellah who cultivate it, providing the seeds himself. The same system is now practiced with wheat. In fact, though *mukhabara* is not officially permitted, its practice is now more common in Egypt than the practice of *muzara'a*.

Thus the hadith: "The plant belongs to the planter" does not at all mean that the landowner is entitled to take all the harvest for himself and not compensate the laborer. It is no argument that the landowner, because he paid the capital of the land and undertook agricultural expenses, has the right to take the vast majority of the crop for himself as profit on his capital investment. Such justifications are purely fallacious, for, by definition, labor is "productive work" without which land would not yield much profit. For the landowner to decrease wages by belittling the value of labor is sheer exploitation, and the fact that land ownership and agricultural expenditure come from capital does not justify the landowner taking most of the produce of the land, being unjust to the wage earner, and taking advantage of the overpopulation of the countryside to reduce the wages of the fellaheen, and bargain with them to underbid one another in wages. This state of affairs will not be conducive to harmony between wage earner and landowner, for "He who plants thistles, reaps not grapes," as the saying goes. Thus both landowner and wage earner harm each other, and that is forbidden by religious canon as implied in the hadith related by Abu Huraya, God's good acceptance be to him, and ascribed to the Prophet, God's bliss and blessing be to him. [Then follows a warning that such a state of affairs may lead to class animosities proscribed by Islam.]

Murtaza Muhtahhari

(Murtaza Muhtahhari, *Islamic Movements in the Twentieth Century*, Maktab-I Qu'an (trans.) Tehran, Iran: Great Islamic Library, 1979, pp51-67, in Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Hamid Dabashi, and Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, eds., *Expectation of the Millenium: Shi'ism in History* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989, pp. 404-405. Permission pending)

Scholars and knowledgeable persons in contemporary history conceded that in the second half of our century in almost all or at least in a large number of Islamic countries Islamic movements have been in ascent openly or secretly. These are practically directed against despotism, capitalist colonialism or materialistic ideologies subscribing to colonialism in its new shape. Experts on political affairs acknowledge that after having passed through a period of mental crisis the Muslims are once again struggling to reestablish their "Islamic identity" against the challenges of capitalist West and communist East. But in no Islamic country has this type of movement gained as much of depth and extent as in Iran since the year 1960. Nor is there a parallel to the proportions which the Iranian movement has obtained. It, therefore, becomes necessary to analyze this remarkably significant event of history...

Like all natural occurrences, social and political events also tend to differ from one another in their behaviors. All historical movements cannot be considered identical in their nature. The nature of the Islamic movement is in no case similar to the French revolution or to the great October revolution of Russia.

The current Iranian movement is not restricted to any particular class or trade union. It is not only a labor, an agrarian, a student, an intellectual or a bourgeois movement. Within its scope fall one and all in Iran, the rich and the poor, the man and the woman, the school boy and the scholar, the warehouse man and the factory laborer, the artisan and the peasant, the clergy and the teacher, the literate and the illiterate, one and all. An announcement made by the preceptor of the highest station guiding the movement is received in the length and breadth of the country with equal enthusiasm by all classes of the people...

This movement is one of the glaring historical proofs which falsifies the concept of materialistic interpretation of history and that of the dialectics of materialism according to which the economy is recognized as the cornerstone of social structure and a social movement is considered a reflection of class struggle... .

The awakened Islamic conscience of our society has induced it to search for Islamic values. This is the conscience of the cumulative enthusiasms of all classes of people, including perhaps some of the hereby dissident groups, which has galvanized then into one concerted upsurge... .

The Shi'I authorities have performed various roles in bringing about this pious Islamic revolution. Their efforts have, at last, culminated in success.

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Economic Crossroads

During the modern period two economic factors which have had far reaching influences in the Muslim Middle East are immigration of labor and the production of oil. The following readings speak to the impact of these economic realities.

I. Haddou: A Moroccan Migrant Worker

(David McMurray: "Haddou: A Moroccan Migrant Worker" in *Struggle and Survival in the Modern Middle East*, edited by Edmund Burke III, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993. pp.377, 380-381, 387-389, Reprinted by permission.)

Haddou, a Moroccan Berber from the region around Nador, left his home in northern Morocco in the 1960's and voluntarily expatriated himself to seek work. By this time migrants from North Africa had already established a

beachhead for themselves in Western Europe, where they did jobs that no Europeans would do anymore. Initially, migration was a seasonable phenomenon. But by the late 1970's and 1980's it had led to the emergence of large permanent communities of migrants -- with an increasingly problematic insertion into European society. The rhythms of Haddou's life largely follow this script, though not without complications.

Haddou had started as an unskilled construction worker on a job in the outskirts of Paris. He lived in a shack on the site to save money. Many other North Africans lived there also. They guarded the site during the night in exchange for their room. That is how Haddou met the big bosses. Every Saturday evening after work had finished, the architect, contractor, and their cronies returned to the job site. Haddou would open the gate to let them in, after which they would enter his guard hut and pull out the cards and liquor and proceed to play poker until early in the morning. Haddou's job was to wash their cars and then wait outside and stand guard in case of trouble. Since he was a Muslim, they reasoned, he did not want to go out on the town or to play or drink with them. He could thus be trusted to stay nearby, sober and alert. They did not have to worry about his taking a nip behind their backs. They did not see the need to pay him extra for his special duties either.

One Saturday night as Haddou sat in the dark, the cars all clean and shiny, the architect came out to stretch. Haddou seized this opportunity to request once more that the architect sketch out a floor plan for Haddou's dream house. He did not know what he wanted exactly from the architect, he just knew that the man was very well educated and very talented and that whatever he designed Haddou would be proud to build. This time the architect obliged Haddou. He quickly sketched on a scrap of paper the rough design and dimensions of a floor plan.

Haddou carried that scrap with him for years, unfolding it every time he thought of his future dream house. He slowly managed to save enough from his wages to put a down payment on a small plot of land on the edge of the city of Nador. That was in the late 1960's. By 1975 he had saved enough to start construction of the house. His land no longer stood on the edge of the city. Nador had grown so much in the interim through migrants relocating their families in the city that Haddou was now starting out to build his house on one of the nicest streets in Nador.

Haddou took his architect's design to a local draftsman to be filled in. He then hired a construction foreman from the region of Ouarzazate in southern Morocco, just like most of the other construction workers in Nador. Haddou liked them because they worked hard for little money and without complaint. They had migrated in search of work just like himself.

Haddou set about brewing another pot of tea. He realized as he thought about his own vacation that he had to make a decision soon on whether to bring Thraithmas [his wife] to Düsseldorf that year. Since the mid 1980's, when Murad became ten and could be left in the care of his brothers and sisters, Haddou had begun to bring Thraithmas to Germany to stay with him for a month each year. When it was time for his mother to go, Hassan would wake up while it was still dark, go down to the taxicab stand, and bring a car right up to the front door. Thraithmas would heavily veil herself and then quickly step out of the house and into the car. She and Hassan would then take the taxi to the Oujda International Airport long before anyone in the neighborhood awoke. Once in Düsseldorf, Thraithmas would change out of her Moroccan dress and into Western clothing. Haddou insisted on that. He remembered too well when she first arrived in Germany wearing her *jallaba*. All eyes were upon her, staring at her as if she were a freak. When she wore her Western clothes, no one paid attention. Luckily for Haddou, unlike her mother, Thraithmas had never tattooed her face with the markings of her natal region, so nothing about her attracted the German's curiosity.

Haddou deeply appreciated her visits. She brought with her delicacies from Morocco: almonds, prepared barley dishes, pickled lemons, olive oil, fresh mint. She also made his favorite food, *limsimen*, a fried bread of many layers made by folding the dough again and again. More than anything else, Thraithmas's visits broke the monotony of Haddou's existence in Düsseldorf. Without her, his routine consisted of waking early, making tea on the small hot plate, riding his bicycle down to the rail yard, and then working as long as they needed him. He would ride home after finishing, change his clothes, and go out to buy a little food for supper. He then watched television for awhile or flipped through a magazine before going to bed. The weekends were mainly reserved for washing clothes and straightening up his room.

The only excitement of the week occurred on Saturday afternoons, at which time Haddou liked to walk down to a certain tearoom in a nicer neighborhood where German women gathered. There he would sit for a few hours, listening to their conversations. Sometimes when the place was full, women even sat at his table. They would start to ask him about his homeland or about his religion. Haddou enjoyed these little exchanges very much because they were practically his only informal contacts with the locals. During the rest of the week he talked to Germans only as a worker talks to a boss or as a customer talks to a storekeeper. The women at the tearoom were the only Germans who showed Haddou any consideration.

With Thraithmas around, Haddou had no need for the Germans. What is more, when he woke up in the morning she had his tea ready. When he got home at night she was cooking his supper. During the day while Haddou was working, Thraithmas would often go across the hall and sit in the apartment of the railway widow who lived there. They watched television together and communicated through gestures. That was enough. They just enjoyed each other's presence. When Haddou returned at night or on

weekends, he and Thraithmas sometimes went shopping in one of the big discount department stores. She doubly enjoyed these outings because she, like other relatively wealthy migrants' wives, was not allowed to go out shopping in Nador. By going out with Haddou in Düsseldorf, she could also buy more tasteful clothes for the family back home -- at least clothes that fit. She also enjoyed buying inexpensive perfumes, soaps, and candies to place around the house in Nador on special occasions and to give to guests when they visited.

Perhaps more than anything, Haddou appreciated Thraithmas's visits because they provided him with a sense of stability and worth. Her calm and respectful manner toward him, her familiar way of speaking, her correct behavior, all reminded him that he belonged, as a proud believer and father of a family, to an Islamic community with a set of values and way of living totally distinct from his present European surroundings. He had not always felt this way. During those early years in Paris no one had been overly concerned with strictly maintaining the religious practices and precepts of their Islamic homeland. They were too busy working. Besides, there was only one mosque in all of Paris.

Sometime during the 1970's a mosque opened in Haddou's quarter of Düsseldorf. It began as a room where Muslims could gather and pray. An Egyptian led the prayers. Haddou visited the mosque once or twice, but he did not know the other men. They seemed too serious anyway and were too interested in trying to run his life. One day while Haddou was in the train yard recording the boxcar numbers of the most recent train to arrive, a Turkish worker from the mosque approached him and asked him to join an Islamic group then forming. They wanted to petition the boss for the right to stop work during prayer times. Some companies in France had even set aside rooms to be used as mosques -- right inside the factories. Maybe the Germans could be persuaded to do the same thing.

Haddou refused to have anything to do with the man or his group and their objectives. He said he was in Europe to earn money, not to pray. God had given him two hands and a strong back to use to provide for himself and his family. Who was going to put food on the table back in Nador if he decided to spend all day at the mosques? In any case, he did not need a bunch of bearded migrants telling him what was and was not Islamic.

And look at the way the religiously militant migrants were greeted back home! The cops at the Moroccan customs bureau treated them like criminals.

Locals in Nador also complained of the way the bearded migrants came home and preached to them about the "true" Islam. The locals viewed them as hicks from the countryside who had spent most of their adult lives in Christian Europe. Now they were coming back every vacation to Islamic Morocco and had the gall to preach to the people who had never abandoned their country and its religion.

The Trench

The Trench, Abdelrahman Munif. Translated by Peter Theroux (Pantheon Books, New York 1991, pp. 162-164 Permission pending)

Once, Harran had been a city of fishermen and travellers coming home, but now it belonged to no one; its people were featureless, of all varieties and yet strangely unvaried. They were all of humanity and yet no one at all, an assemblage of languages, accents, colors and religions. The riches in the city, and underneath it, were unique in the world, yet no one in Harran was rich or had any hope of becoming so. All of them were in a race, but note knew where to or for how long. It was like a beehive, like a graveyard. They even greeted one another differently from people in any other place -- a man greeted other and then looked searchingly in their faces, as if afraid that something might happen between his greeting and their reply.

At least this was how Muhammad Eid saw them on his return. He had lived here for several years, and experienced the birth of the city. He had seen the stones put together and stacked up to become tall buildings, he had seen the streets paved to make passages for men, animals and cars, he had seen shops and restaurants spring up like mushrooms, and the emirate building, military command and Shifa Hospital. Now, as he arrived here again to stay for good, checking into the Desert Flower Hotel before strolling through the commercial district, he could not believe that he had ever been here before. He recognized nothing, he knew no one, nothing was as it had been. Even the emirate building, on the northern hill, had become the Harran Central Prison. The Central Command Center, Johar's old headquarters, was now a police station.

The Shifa Hospital, where he had spent most of his time in Harran, was now a hospital for foreigners. Dr. Mahmilji's clinic was now the Orient Dry Cleaners. The Friends Coffeehouse had been demolished and replaced by the Bahlawan Building. Rashedi Street had been torn up and rebuilt, and though it officially retained its name, most people now called it Old Market Street.

The emirate building stood in the rolling hills by the Ujra Road, and the emir's residence was on the opposite side of town; for when nothing remained in the city but refineries, the cargo port and smoke, the Americans built a new city twelve miles to the east, named for the old site where it was built: Ras al-Tawashi. Within this new city were districts for merchants, wealthy citizens and high-level employees, not far from where the Americans themselves lived, and this was where the emir lived.

The residential areas on the western hills, originally knows as Arab Harran, had slowly become a commercial area, after having been pulled down and rebuilt several times. The people of Harran were separated from the residents of these areas in several directions, behind the hills, toward the quarries. The workers' camp, located midway between Arab Harran and American Harran, was now a storehouse for old equipment. One section of it was

buried under junked cars, old tires and barrels. This had come about after the death of several workers by asphyxiation from the fumes of the nearby refineries; the workers were moved far away, to a site between Harran and Ras al-Tawashi.

What was true of any other place was also true of this one. The Friday Mosque, to whose construction the doctor had been so proud to contribute, still stood but was an eyesore, decrepit and black, smeared with layers of grime and smoke, and surrounded by tall buildings. When Muhammad asked about Abdu Muhammad's bakery and Abu Kamel the butcher, the people he asked labored to recall when the bakery and butcher shop had been demolished, but the could not be sure, and some had no idea at all.

Even the cemetery was gone. The new emir, Abdallah Shibli, gave the Harranis who had their dead buried in the cemetery fifteen days to dig up the bones from the graves; after that, bulldozers rolled in and destroyed whatever and whoever was left. Ibn Naffeh shouted at them and cursed them and spat in the faces of the bulldozer operators and ran to fetch a number of poor people to rescue some of the skeletons before they were crushed and torn by the bulldozers. Ibn Naffeh himself died a few days after the "opening" of the new cemetery on the Ujra Road, and the completion of the high wall around it.

This smell is horrid -- it smells like corpses, muttered Muhammad to himself as he walked through the marketplace; now he remembered. *It is like no place else -- it isn't even like itself. The people here know each other only by chance, and spend almost no time together, exactly like the passengers on Abboud al-Salek's trucks.*

Harran was deafening by day, but at night, under the blaze of the refinery, it was a city of shadows and silence; when the ships' sirens and roaring engines, audible from the cargo port two miles away died down, you might have thought that Harran was part of the desert that stretched beyond it. Even the streetlights gave off a gloomy light you could barely see under the fiery black-orange sky that was the city's dreadful ceiling.

Muhammad had been able to endure several summers in Harran, but this time he began to suffocate almost on arrival, not only from the heat or the humidity, but from the heavy, malodorous air: a mixture of petroleum, cooking spices, sulfur, dust, the desert, leftover food, dead fish, burning tires -- not to mention the smell of people. It was unbearable. Once, Harran had been easier; a person could get used to it or tolerate it. Now, at least in Muhammad's state of mind, it was an overpowering, malevolent city, more like a tomb.

Mother Comes of Age

(Driss Chraibi: *Mother Comes of Age*, Translated from the Frech by Hugh A. Harter, Washington, DC: Three Continents Press, Inc., 1976, pp. 19-28, permission pending)

One sizzling afternoon in July, so hot an egg out in the sun would have cooked through in a couple of minutes, two swearing, cursing, raving voices suddenly began ricocheting through the house, voices, plus the sounds of the neighbors who were gathering in a crowd in front of the house.

Nagib had taken the front door off its hinges so that two moving men accoutered in shorts and ribbons of sweat, could squeeze into the front hall with a kind of coffin-shaped object that they carried at arms length. Their curses were strong enough to make your hair stand up. Mama hurried to the back of the house to the protection of the kitchen. There she huddled in a corner with her broom at the ready, yelping: "What's going on? Don't let them in, Nagib. You hear me? They're cut-throats, they're robbers. Go call the police. Hurry up!"

"Radio, it's the radio," hollered Nagib, in that cast-iron voice of his.

"Push! Push harder!" Said the man's voice.

"Radio? What radio?" yelled Mom. "What's going on?"

"Move over, jack-ass," one of the moving men said to me. "Can't you see we're half dead?"

"Yes, monsieur."

"So get the hell out of the way!"

He looked like a big hairy dog. I saw a gleam of murder in his eyes, so I prudently flattened myself against a wall. Too late. The other moving man rammed me with his elbow.

"How about a little room, you stupid twerp? We've been lugging this damn contraption all the way from the station. And its 104 in the shade. So how about a little room!"

That was the one who had eyebrows as thick as toothbrushes. His eyes were as red as a four-alarm fire.

"Go play with your marbles, Junior," shouted Nagib.

The stairway they were climbing was like a calvary, made of cement, narrow, dark and echoing, with high wide steps. Half way up, there was a landing with niches and coffers. Nagib and I used to play cops and robbers there. Then there was a sudden turn to the right, four steps down and then back up toward the second floor. I once met the man who designed our house. He drew the plans on a little piece of wood with a scrap of charcoal. He was an artists and a scholar who could recite the *Rubiat of Omar Khayyam* page after page without the flicker of an eye, and he had meticulously provided for every nook and cranny. He had even drawn in the little angels up by the ceiling that were to safeguard the health and well-being of the inhabitants of this earthly abode. But when it came to designing the staircase, his mind was apparently somewhere else.

And so it had been added at a later date. I also met the man who did the construction of the stairs with his very own hands, without any preconceived plan at all, and nothing more than the instincts of a peasant just come down out of the mountains.

My brother was trying to warn the moving men, still sweating and cursing over the sudden turn. He shouted his head off. "Watch out, watch out. You're going to break your neck. Not over there. Not over there, I'm tel[illegible]g you!" To no use. I heard a crash and a curse in Arabic that not even the French could have reproduced. By now I was hiding in the kitchen too. Even there the tidal wave kept hitting against the rocks and reverberated from wall to wall. My mother wailed, "What's going on?"

And I answered, "Nothing at all, Mama. Just a couple of walls exploding."

Then sounds like grizzly bears fighting in a cave would come rolling up to us.

"Lord God, Lord God!" said my mother in a trembling voice. "What's to become of us? It's the end of the world."

"No, Mama, no, no," I said. "It's just two giants, and your son Nagib who thinks he's a giant, too. Right now they must be up to the landing. Pretty soon they have to turn to the left, and that's the worst part of all. What will they do then?"

"Then? What are they doing here now? What's inside that big box? A lead cadaver? Stones? Bricks? What's in it?"

"Nothing, Mama, nothing. Don't you understand? It's a radio."

"A radio? What's that mean, a radio?"

Strange noises interrupted us. Cries for help. Heave ho's. Then all of a sudden right over our heads, the cement ceiling began to pulsate like a power hammer. Mother's was the voice of the prophet preaching in the desert: "The mountains have quaked with their quaking, and Mother Earth has been shaken by the humanity which she has carried upon her shoulders from the beginning of time. But we have disobeyed Thy commandments, Lord, and now the sky is caving in upon us. I tell you in truth, my son, the time has come to pray!"

And from the sky itself, or rather the second floor, the response was quick. We heard the joyful tidings: "That's it, you heavy little bastard. We got the son of a bitch up here!"

Then they came downstairs, as smiling and quiet as if they had just been invited to a dinner party. Very politely they asked us if we had something they could get their teeth into. I ventured a reply: "How about some chewing tobacco?"

"No, no" answered the hairy one. "Just a bite of something in a hurry. And give us something to drink while you're out there."

My mother who had heard their requests handed me a steaming casserole and then a bucket of water which she filled up to the brim. All of us stood there and watched them eat the chick pea stew. If they cleaned out the casserole, I must say they didn't finish off the bucket of water, even though there were two of them and they certainly were thirsty.

Once they had left, all the crowd that had gathered out in the street went on their way, too. In any case, a silence of low tide suddenly fell over the neighborhood. Nagib put the front door back on its hinges, snapped his fingers and said to us, "Come take a look, my little lambs, and see this wonder of all wonders."

We went upstairs and we saw. On the floor of the living room there were some boards, two or three still whole and some others in splinters, some pieces of wire, and some tacks scattered around. And in the center of all that, something black, heavy and long which looked like a coffer or a sort of chest of drawers. On it were a dial, two buttons and a metal plate on which was engraved a word which I did not understand: BLAUPUNKT.

My mother looked at Nagib and lifted her arms toward heaven. She looked at the piece of furniture for quite a while, and walked all around it with her hands behind her back. She patted the dial and turned the buttons. And since the piece of furniture showed no reaction, she stopped and said to me: "Just what is this thing?"

"Blo punn kteu"

"What?"

"Blo punn kteu"

She suddenly let go with an anger that must have been building up inside of her for quite a while. "Will somebody in this house tell me what this is all about?"

"What he just told you isn't altogether wrong," my brother answered. "I know how to read too. On the plaque it says Bla Upunn Kteu."

Then it was my turn to loose my temper. "Blo Punn Kteu!"

"No, Sir," said Nagib. "B-L-A, Bla, Upunn Kteu. That's what it says, Junior!"

"Heavens above," cried my mother, as she wrung her hands. "What are they saying, these monsters I brought into the world? Are you finally going to explain to me what this is all about?"

"It's a radio," answered Nagib.

"A radio! But what is the radio you've been talking about for three days now? Radio...Blo...Upunn...Radio....Kteu!"

Looking at each other straight in the eye, Nagib and I answered with one firm voice: "It's a box that talks."

"That talks? A box that talks? Come on now, do you think I'm a woman from the middle ages or an imbecile? Are you making fun of your mother? Just wait until I get my belt off."

"Since the belt's of silk," said Nagib, "it couldn't hurt an earthworm. You'd better try one of those boards. Go ahead and hit me if you don't understand, but before you do, just listen to me, little Mama. This is a box, and I am telling the truth, a box that talks."

"But it isn't talking!"

"It will. It's going to give us news from the whole wide world. It will sing. It will say at the sound of the fourth beep that its exactly 10:24 a.m. and 30 seconds. It will laugh, it will cry and it will tell all sorts of stories."

"It will do all that? You're sure?"

"Oui, Madame!"

"But how? How?"

My brother and I looked at each other and we instinctively understood. It was as though I saw a finger on the eyes of Nagib that told me to be careful of what I said: "Quiet, you don't say anything to her about electricity or we'll end up with a lot of sparks." I answered fast: "by magic."

"Aha," mother said, suddenly feeling relieved and happy. "Like the fakirs and the snake charmers?"

"That's it. That's it exactly."

"Do you mean that a magician is going to come and get the box to work?"

Nagib took her in his arms and then he kissed her on the hands, the forehead and the hair.

"It's a magician so magic that you won't even see him. You can have my word on it."

"Oh, I'm so happy, so happy....."

We helped her clean up the living room. Then we swept and washed down the stairway. Nagib went out to do some shopping with his coat under his arm saying: "Well it's just an old coat and besides it's too hot. I'm going to swap it for something else."

When he came back home, he had a sack of plaster on his back. We took an olive wood spoon to mix the plaster and we filled up the holes in the entrance hall walls.

That night, my father said a blessing over our meal of cold meats, talked about Greek philosophers and about the Wall Street stock market, but made no mention whatsoever of the radio, and went off to bed puffing on his pipe.

In the days that followed, half a dozen men invaded the house. The place reverberated with the sounds of nails being pounded, holes being bored and screws being set in. They put in a meter, unwound coils of wire and installed fuse boxes, sockets and light fixtures. Some were pounding nails, others were boring holes and still others putting up fixtures. My mother was scared to death by all those comings and goings, deep voices and hammerings. She shut herself up in the kitchen all day long, her lips pursed as she prepared dish after dish of food and quantities of tea for us and for the men who were working on the installation "of the magician for our house." When we got home from school, she would ask anxiously: "Is it done? Is he in there?" And we would give her the same answer, "Just you wait!"

She wasn't really impatient or even excited. It was something else that only she possessed, patience and faith, a *patience with faith*, layer after layer, that grew more feverish day by day.

That was a Friday I remember vividly. The old clock in the living room had just sounded five o'clock in its rusty voice. Nagib and I took off our street shoes at the entrance way, put down our bookbags and exclaimed, "It's done. He's there."

Later on, much later on, I had a family of my own in a land I have learned to love. One of my children, aged nine, with hair so blond it is invisible in strong sunlight and with eyes the color of forget-me-nots and as enormous as my mother's, is named Dominique. In the evening when I tell her a bedtime story about giants and fairies and magicians, I watch her expressions come and go, as changeable as the flux and flow of the sea between serenity and tempest. One minute her eyes fill with tears and the next there is a spring-tide of smiles.

That pure emotion, color, odor and substance of truth was on my mother's face when Nagib gave her the electric hand switch and told her. "Press the button. Turn it on!"

For a moment indecision danced back and forth in her eyes. Fear of the unknown, of bringng forth a genie that she could not control. But I saw her teeth. She was smiling. A smile that was certainly an evocation: "In the name of the All-Powerful, Master of the Universe!" Then she pressed the switch that could light up the world. It was deeply moving to see the joy that spread across her face, like the rustle of the sea when the first rays of dawn streak across it from wave to wave and horizon to horizon. And like the voice of a seagull when she exclaimed: "He's here. The magician did come!"

"Now turn it off," said Nagib laughingly.

"What?" asked mother.

"Press the switch again."

Mechanically she obeyed, and suddenly it was night. Anguish. As if under the skin every nerve in her face had been severed.

"Oh," she said in a small and desolate voice, "he's gone away."

"Just turn the switch and back he'll come. Try and see."

The afternoon was almost over, the clock had sounded out the hours, the cries of beggars mounted toward heaven as fervently as the prayers of the faithful, and mother was still there in the same place completely absorbed in pressing the switch and saying over and over like a broken record: "turn on-turn off...Turn on-turn off... Turn on-turn off!"

"And now," said Nagib, "how about going to see the radio?"

"Wait," she said.

Out she ran, from one room to the other, lighting every bulb, in chandelier and lamp. Then turned them off. Turned them on Clapping her hands and hopping around like a rabbit.

"Turn on-turn off ...Turn on-turn off!"

"Let's go see the radio."

She wanted to change into her best kaftan first, the one embroidered and stiff with thread of gold, and put on some jasmin perfume. When she walked into the living room, it was as though she were seeing it for the first time in her life.

She squatted on her heels, rested her arms on her knees and took her chin in her hand with her accustomed air of seriousness and lack of comprehension whenever my father tried to explain to her, proof in his hands, the difference between a coin and paper money.

Nagib turned the knobs to regulate the volume, and a voice blurted out: "Grain prices today were as follows: Hard wheat, 180, soft wheat 213, fenagreek 31, millet 20." Then there was a bit of music. I turned to mother to ask her what she thought. Whatever it was, she didn't tell me. Her amazement was so great that you could feel it coursing through her veins, giving her the look of someone in mild shock.

"And now, dear listeners, for our regular weather report. An area of high pressure is moving from the Canary Island towards our southern shores. Temperatures at the four o'clock reading were as follows: Fez 28 degrees centigrade, Casablanca 29, Marrakesh 34..."

Nagib winked at me, and we both tiptoed out of the room. We did our homework without saying a word and then played a game of poker that ended up in a silent sparring match. Father was away on a trip, so we fixed ourselves something to eat in the kitchen, barley bread with honey for Nagib and a couple of soft-boiled eggs for me. Two or three times Nagib went up to a living room to take a look, brandishing a leg of lamb like a club. And every time he came back to the kitchen he would shake his head and say: "Quiet! She's listening to a sermon...She's at the theater... At a concert... "

"Did she eat something?"

"No, she hasn't. I've been gnawing on this. A good leg of lamb shouldn't go to waste."

At midnight, the radio voice simply announced: "Goodnight, ladies and gentlemen," and went silent.

"Goodnight, Mr. Magician," answered my mother. "Sleep well, pleasant dreams."

"Don't let the bedbugs bite," added Nagib. "Now, mama, how about a little something to eat? There's still some meat on this lamb bone. Or I'll fry you up a half dozen eggs with those little pickles you like. What do you say?"

"Keep your voice down, stupid! You're going to wake him up. Can't you hear the poor soul snoring?"

And it was true. The radio was "snoring." I turned off the current.

Thus did the magician come to install himself in our house, from then on to fill it with his voice from morning to evening. He talked, he sang, he laughed, he cried. Mama was certain it was a living being, of flesh and blood, a sort of soothsaying intellectual who had traveled widely, learned a great deal, and then like Diogenes, in horror at what he had found in the world, sought refuge in a small wooden box. With a kind of finality she christened him Monsieur Kteu. Besides she never could have pronounced Monsieur Blau Punn Kteu any more than she could have Bla Upunn Kteu.

dialogues with him, sometimes agreeing with him but never hesitating to contradict either: "What do you mean, Monsieur Kteu? Would you repeat what you just said? I didn't follow... Oh no, Monsieur Kteu. You are wrong. You're very badly informed. It hasn't rained today at al. But you can't be everywhere at once, now can you?"

Monsieur Kteu became for her the man she had always waited for, the father she had never known, the husband who would recite love poems to her, the friend who would give her counsel and who told her about the external world of which she had no knowledge. When World War II broke out, there she was, faithful to her post. Always sensitive to the suffering of others, she counted off the battles with a thick piece of crayon on the back of a chopping board. I was in high school studying humanities. She remained entombed in the house where she was learning about life.

"It is not true, Monsieur Kteu. You must not believe everything that Mister Hitler says. He couldn't have sunk two thousand eight hundred eighty-eight boats in a single month. It's not possible."

Monsieur Kteu paid no attention. He didn't have time. He had become a propaganda artist, barking out the war communiques and recounting victory after victory against a background of martial muic.

"Get a little rest now," mother would say to him. "You've done enough today. It's a blessing from heaven you didn't get hit by a stray bullet."

Then she would turn off the switch and bring him --yes -- she brought Monsieur Kteu food and drink. The following morning the plate and glass were empty, and she was delighted. It was Nagib who got up during the night and devotedly did his duty. He got bigger and bigger. After all, you shouldn't destroy Mother's illusions!

Culinary Cultures of the Middle East

(Holly Chase: "The Meyhane or McDonalds: Changes in Eating Habits and the Evolution of Fast Food in Istanbul," in *Culinary Cultures of the Middle East*, edited by Sami Zubaida and Richard Tapper, London, New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1994, pp.74-76, permission pending.)

Upon seeing the Istanbul McDonald's, only one of my concerns was that it again pitted kebabs against burgers. Indeed, Turkish food seemed to have been holding its own against the challenge for close to 30 years. Widespread as they were, even before McDonald's, hamburgers had not become a major element in urban Turkish diets. Far more worrisome was the juggernaut name: McDonald's. McDonald's, of course, sell more than their menu of hamburgers, french fried potatoes, and soft drinks. Especially when McDonald's establishments are outside the United States, they constitute all-enveloping American environments which themselves are 'consumed' as avidly as the food. Serving dependably edible, inoffensive food in clean, colorful, brightly lit, modern surroundings has proved profitable for McDonald's, Burger King, and other American fast-food firms operating outside North America.

What long ago became prosaic to the American or European still retains its allure for the Middle Eastern consumer. Exoticism is relative.

Thus it appeared that as Turkish entrepreneurs viewed Turks' enthusiastic reception of fast food within the genuine McDonald's ambience, the inducement to imitate not only the style of service and decor, but the *food itself* would be greater than ever before. It followed that this imitation would be at the expense of traditional Turkish foods and ingredients, doomed to go the way of olive oil as a dressing for rice-stuffed vine leaves.

In Istanbul, McDonald's and Pizza Hut have now enjoyed a couple of years of great commercial success and show no signs of declining in popularity. But as for their contributing to the demise of what Turks ate before Big Macs, I can report that a recent visit to Istanbul has laid my apprehensions to rest. In February 1992, as Turkey suffered from the world-wide recession, loss of trade with neighboring Iraq, and 70 percent inflation per annum, fast food was flourishing in Istanbul. But whose fast food?

Besides the Taksim Square McDonald's is another new (and equally well patronized) glass-fronted restaurant with decor so similar to McDonald's that it seems to be merely an annex of the latter. Each restaurant has colorful menu boards with lettering large enough to be legible from the sidewalk. Except for the addition of the chilled yoghurt drink known as *ayran*, McDonald's menu makes no concession to its location. But next door the apparent McDonald's clone, actually a branch of the venerable Istanbul cafeteria and caterer Borsa, serves not hamburgers but a selection of kebabs, soups, and stews; fried aubergine with yoghurt; cheese *börek*, and baklava!

For centuries Istanbul has fed on such foods. Moreover, no one watching the noon-time refueling of an Istanbul taxi-driver, gnawing through half a loaf of bread and gulping lentil soup, would deny these foods the label 'fast'.

What do we mean by the term 'fast food'? Food that can be both quickly procured and quickly eaten? Food that is eaten while one is standing up? Or sitting down at a table to which one has carried one's own meal? Does the term 'fast' have anything to do with preparation? Lentil soup may be quickly eaten, but it is not quickly made. Yet the quintessential fast-food item, the McDonald's hamburger, though rapidly cooked and eaten, is the product of far more intricate manufacturing and merchandising processes than is a bowl of Turkish lentil soup.

And what about price? Is fast food necessarily inexpensive? What is the status of fast food and what are the social implications of its consumption? Is there such a thing as high-class fast food? These are but some of the questions that arise.

Samarkand

(Amin Maaiouf: *Samarkand*, translated by Russell Harris , Quartet Books, 1992, pp.IX, 5-9,12-14, 28-30, 231-235, 304-309, permission pending).

At the bottom of the Atlantic there is a book. I am going to tell you its history.

Perhaps you know how the story ends. The newspapers of the day write about it, as did others later on. When the *Titanic* went down on the night of 14 April 1912 in the sea off the New World, its most eminent victim was a book, the only copy of the *Rubaiyyat* of Omar Khayyam, the Persian sage, poet and astronomer.

I shall not dwell on the shipwreck. Others have already weighed its cost in dollars, listed the bodies and reported the peoples' last words. Six years after the event I am still obsessed with this object of flesh and ink whose unworthy guardian I was. Was I, Benjamin O Lesage, not the one who snatched it from its Asian birth-place? Was it not amongst my luggage that it set sail on the *Titanic*? And was its age-old journey not interrupted by my century's arrogance?

Since then, the world has become daily more covered in blood and gloom, and life has ceased to smile on me. I have had to distance myself from people in order to hear the voice of my memory, to nature a naive hope and insistent vision that tomorrow the manuscript will be found. Protected by its golden casket, it will emerge from the murky depths of the sea intact, its destiny enriched by a new odyssey. People will be able to finger it, open it and lose themselves in it. Captive eyes will follow the chronicle of its adventure from margin to margin, they will discover the poet, his first verses, his first bouts of drunkenness and his first fears; and the sect of the Assassins. Then they will stop, incredulous, at a painting the color of sand and emerald.

It bears neither date nor signature, nothing apart from these words which can be read as either impassioned or disenchanted: *Samarkand, the most beautiful face the Earth has ever turned towards the sun.*

In the ochre dusk of a walled garden there was a groaning crowd. How was I going to recognize Bakerville? Everyone's face was so brown! I leant against a tree, waiting and watching. The doorway of a lighted cabin had been made into an impoverished theater. The *rozeh-khawan*, story-teller and mourner, was drawing out the tears of the faithful along with their shouts and their blood.

A man stepped out of the shadows, a volunteer for pain. His feet were bare, his torso naked and he had a chain wound around each hand: he threw the chains up in the air and let them fall behind his shoulders on to his back: the chains were smooth, bruising and pummeling his flesh but it did not give -- it took thirty to fifty strokes for the first blood to appear as a black spot which then started pouring out in the fascinating spurts. It was the theater of suffering, the age-old game of the passion.

The beating became more vigorous as his noisy

breathing was echoed by the crowd. The blows went on and the story-teller spoke louder to make his voice carry over the sound of the flagellation. Then an actor sprang up and threatened the audience with his saber. His grimaces first attracted curses and then volleys of stones. He did not stay on the scene for long. Soon his victim appeared and the crowd gave out a roar. I myself could not hold back a shout, for the man dragging himself along the ground had been decapitated.

I turned horrified to the reverend; he reassured me with a cold smile and whispered:

"Its an old trick. They get a child, or a very small man, and on his head they place a sheep's head which is turned upside-down so that its bloody neck points upward. Then they wrap a white cloth around it with a hole in the appropriate place. As you can see the effect is transfixing.

He drew on his pipe. The headless man hopped and wheeled around the stage for minutes on end, until he gave u his place to a strange person in tears.

"Baskerville!"

I gave the reverend another questioning look. He did no more than raise his eyebrows enigmatically.

The strangest thing was that Howard was dressed as an American, even sporting a top hat which struck me as irresistibly amusing in spite of the pervading atmosphere of tragedy.

The crowd was still yelling, lamenting and, as far as I could see, no one else's face showed the least hint of amusement except the pastor's. Finally he deigned to enlighten me:

"There is always a European in these funeral rites, and, curiously, he is one of the "goodies." Tradition has it that a Frankish ambassador at the Omayyad court was moved by the death of Hussein, the supreme martyr of the Shiites, and that he showed his disapproval of the crime so noisily that he himself was put to death. Naturally, there is not always a European to hand who can appear in the spectacle, so they use a Turk or a light-skinned Persian. However since Baskerville has been at Tabriz they always call upon him to play this role. He plays it splendidly -- and he really cries!"

At that moment the man with the sword came back and pranced boisterously around Baskerville who stood still and then flicked his hat off, revealing his blond hair which was carefully parted to the left. Then, with the slowness of a zombie he fell to his knees and stretched out on the ground. A beam of light lit up his clean-shaven child's face and his cheekbones which were puffed up with tears, and a nearby hand threw a cluster of pearls to his black suit.

I could not hear the crowd any longer. My eyes were riveted to my friend and I was waiting anxiously for him to get up again. The ceremony seemed to go on and on for ever and I was impatient to retrieve him.

An hour later we met around bowl of pomegranate soup at the mission. The pastor left us alone and we ate amid an embarrassed silence. Baskerville's eyes were still red.

"It takes me a while to become a Westerner again," he apologized with a broken smile.

"Take your time, the century has just begun."

He coughed, brought the hot bowl to his lips and became lost again in silent thought.

Then haltingly he said:

"When I arrived in this country, I could not understand how grown and bearded men could sob and work themselves up over a murder committed twelve hundred years ago. Now I have understood. If the Persians live in the past it is because the past is there homeland and the present is a foreign country where nothing belongs to them. Everything which is a symbol of modern life and greater freedom for us, for them is a symbol of foreign domination: the roads -- Russia; the railways, telegraphy and banking system -- England; the postal service -- Austria-Hungary ...."

"And the teaching of science, that's Mr. Baskerville from the American Presbyterian Mission."

"Exactly. What choice do the people of Tabriz have? To send their children to a traditional school where they learn by rote the same misshapen phrases that their ancestors were repeating back in the twelfth century; or to send them to my class where they receive an education which is the same as that of young Americans, but in the shadow of a cross and a star-spangled banner? My students will be the better, the more adept and the more useful for their country, but how can we prevent the others from seeing them as renegades? In the very first week of my stay I asked myself that question, and it was during a ceremony like the one you have just been watching that I found the solution.

"I had mingled with the crowd and groans were being emitted all around me. Watching those devastated faces, bathed in tears, and gazing at those haggard, worried and entreating eyes, the whole misery of Persia appeared to me -- they were tattered souls besieged by never-ending mourning. Without realizing it, my tears started to flow. Someone in the crowd noticed, they looked at me and were moved and then they pushed me toward the stage where they made me act out the role of the Frankish ambassador. The next day my students' parents came to see me; they were happy that they could now answer the people who had been reproaching them for sending their children to the Presbyterian Mission: "I have entrusted my son to the teacher who cried for the Imam Hussein." Some religious chiefs were irritated but their hostility toward me can be attributed to my success. They prefer foreigners to behave like foreigners."

I understood his behavior better, but I was still skeptical:

"So, for you, the solution to Persia's problem is to join in with the crowds of mourners!"

"I did not say that. Crying is not a recipe for anything. Nor is it a skill. It is simply a naked, naive and pathetic gesture. No one should be forced to shed tears. The only important thing is not to scorn other peoples' tragedy.

When they saw me crying, when they saw that I had thrown off the sovereign indifference of a foreigner, they came to tell me confidentially that crying serves no purpose and that Persia does not need extra mourners and that the best I could do would be to provide the children of Tabriz with an adequate education."

"Wise words. I was going to tell you the same thing."

"Except that if I had not cried, they never would have come to talk to me. If they had not seen me crying, they would have let me tell the pupils that this Shah was rotten and that the religious chiefs of Tabriz were hardly any better!"

"Did you say that in class?"

"Yes, I said that. This young beardless American, this young teacher at the Presbyterian Mission denounced both the crown and the turban and my students agreed with him. So did their parents. Only the reverend was outraged."

Seeing that I was perplexed and added:

"I have also spoken to the boys about Khayyam. I told them that millions of Americans and Europeans had made his *Rubaiyyat* their bedside book and I made them learn Fitzgerald's verses by heart. The next day, a grandfather came to see me. He was very moved by what his grandson had told him and said: "We too have great respect for American poets!" Naturally he was completely unable to name a single one, but that makes no difference. It was his way of expressing his pride and gratitude. Unfortunately not all the parents reacted in the same way. One of them came to complain to me. In the pastor's presence he yelled at me: "Khayyam was a drunkard and an impious man!" I replied: "By saying that you are not insulting Khayyam but praising drunkenness and ungodliness!" The reverend almost choked on the spot."

The Moharram Ritual

Peter Chelkhowski: "The Moharram Ritual, " *The India Magazine of Her People and Culture*, January 1993, pp.55-63, permission pending)

The tragic martyrdom of Hosain, the beloved grandson of the Prophet Mohammed at the battle of Karbala (in today's Iraq) in the year 680 AD (10th of Moharram, 61st year of the Muslim era), created myriad rituals which have been observed ever since. The form and the atmosphere in which these rituals are observed depend on their location, in terms of their distance from Karbala, and the influences they absorbed from other religions, cultures and rituals.

In India, the rituals commemorating Hosain's death are either ambulatory or stationary. The ambulatory processional performance is the dominant observance. It follows the designated route and is formally structured with units organized in a particular order carrying symbolic paraphernalia. Some participants are costumed, and the procession follows certain movement patterns dictated by music and chanting. The main features of this procession are the huge structures known as *ta'ziah*. These structures, made of bamboo, colored paper and tinsel, represent the artistic imaginative rendering of Hosain's mausoleum, made portable in order to wheel or carry them through the streets. The word ta'ziah is derived from an Arabic term meaning 'mourning' and, therefore, this procession should be regarded as a funeral to re-enact the burial of Hosain.

The funerary dimensions of the ta'ziah procession may be further accentuated by the *ma'tam,* self mortification of the participants, who try to relive the passion of Hosain by inflicting pain on themselves to identify with his suffering.

Tradition has it that it was Timur, Tamerlane 1336-1405, who, out of devotion to Hosain, had the first *ta'ziah* built in order to accompany him during his military campaigns. Emulating their famous ancestor the Mughal emperors brought this custom to India. The great distance of India from Karbala was another reason that prompted the construction of *ta'ziahs*. Thus it was that the tomb of Hosain, and the belief in its alleged healing powers, was annually brought to India.

The other salient feature of Moharram observance is an *alam,*an artistic rendering of the ensign of Hosain at Karbala signifying courage, truth and the uncompromising fight for the cause. The *alams,* like *ta'ziahs,* vary in size and material. Most are flexible steel blades, shaped like the palm of a hand, mounted on a hoist, with tassels, fringes, pennants and streamers attached to each. The *alams* generate the sensation of battling for Hosain and the procession, therefore, is a victory procession. Though Hosain was killed at Karbala, his courage and sacrifice is considered a victory for Islam and the entire human race.

The stationary Hosain ritual in India is known as *majlis,* however, the plural from *majalis* is commonly used. This is a recitation and chanting of Hosain's saga to and by an assembly of mourners. Those men who run the *majlis* can manipulate the mood and emotions of the audience, to reach a state of frenzy, through voice modulation, chanting, crying and gesture. The majlis usually takes place in special edifices known as Imambaras or Ashurkhanas, which also serve as the repositories of the objects carried in the processions.

This ecumenical spirit and crossculturisation of Moharram in India evolved even further when the Indians were brought to the Caribbean basin as indentured laborers between 1845 and 1917. In 1834, the British gave freedom to their African slaves on the sugarcane plantations in the Caribbean colonies. The former slaves, who identified working on the sugarcane plantations with their former plight, refused to continue as free laborers and migrated to towns. The plantation owners, therefore, brought indentured laborers from other countries, especially India. A great number of them came from what is today's state of Uttar Pradesh and the old bastion of Moharram tradition--the Lucknow district. The migrants from India brought to the Caribbean their own cultures and religions, including the Moharram rituals. It is interesting to note that although the overwhelming majority of the Indian migrants to the Caribbean basin were Hindus, the Moharram ritual came to

eclipse all other Indian rituals.

At first, the Moharram ritual was a symbol of unity for the Indians on Caribbean soil. Soon after, however, it became a symbol of unity for all indentured laborers regardless of race and religion and often as an act of symbolic defiance against colonial rule. Some researchers even see in it the consciousness of the working class as it was used against plantation owners who tried to increase work loads or reduce wages.

The Moharram ritual in the Caribbean basin is knows as Hosay which is derived from Hosain, The phonetic transformation of some words from Urdu to Hindi rendered *ta'ziah* as *tadjah*. In British Guyana, the *tadjah* became a symbol of defiance against the British masters.

Notes:

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Spotlight on
The Muslim Middle East
Crossroads

Teacher Guide

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Spotlight on
The Muslim Middle East
Crossroads

Teacher's Guide

Edited by
Brian Kelahan and
Marni Penn

Project Coordinator
Hazel Sara Greenberg

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PREFACE

HAZEL SARA GREENBERG, DIRECTOR OF CURRICULUM
THE AMERICAN FORUM FOR GLOBAL EDUCATION

We are very pleased to present the second volume of our **Spotlight on the Muslim Middle East: Crossroads.** When we conceived and initiated this project, we were not fully aware of the range of issues our choices would arouse. The first volume, **Spotlight on the Muslim Middle East: Identity**, was developed after many consultations. We were deeply concerned with presenting a multi-dimensional and transdisciplinary point-of-view to looking at this vast area called the Muslim Middle East. From the time of publication we were forced to counter questions regarding some of our decisions. However, looking back at this two-year project, we are convinced that we have made valid and appropriate curricula choices for teaching about the Muslim Middle East.

Volume I of our two-volumes containing student readings, teacher background materials and teaching methodology, looked at the ingredients which help to determine one's identity. They included: gender, religion, ethnicity, nationalism and community. Using the kaleidoscope and fracturing each of these components, we were able to see that a Muslim Middle Eastern is affected on many levels by many different influences. For average high school students, this thinking coincides with the many influences which help make identity. It allows them to feel more empathetic and understanding about the peoples of the region. Most importantly, it gives a slightly different "spin" on content, providing multiple voices, multiple perspectives and multiple scenarios.

With this objective in mind, **Crossroads** was born. Once again, we were concerned with showing the Muslim Middle East in terms of its influence on the world and, conversely or concurrently, the influence of other areas of the world on the Muslim Middle East. That is a true "crossroads." It is interesting and challenging; it is insightful and complex. It forces our classrooms to reexamine material. At the same time, it brings many different kinds of materials into our classrooms. As in all our publications, we are eager to incorporate many different voices in the classroom.

A quick glance at the table of contents makes our objectives very clear. As we examine four seminal historical junctures, we see the Muslim Middle East has been both a recipient and a donor. Ideas have flowed north and south, east and west, sometimes emanating in the region and sometimes reaching their zenith in other areas of the world. As teachers and students review these readings they become aware of what a "crossroads" really is. This area is not the terminal point. Nor is it the point of birth. In many cases, it is a conduit, an exchange, a meeting ground. Looking at history from this vantage point can defuse negative images and concerns. Additionally, while our original goal was to develop materials primarily for only the global studies classroom, the research and the materials show how important a study of the Muslim Middle East and Crossroads is in American history and world history, as well as in geography and economics classrooms.

This curricula would not have been possible without the exemplary work of two New York University graduate students. Brian Kelahan, an intelligent reader and sensitive teacher, played the major role in selecting appropriate materials and adapting them for the high schools. He has varied the type of reading, the source of the reading and the level of difficulty. We believe there is material for all abilities and degrees of difficulty can be accomplished by "layering" the reading for the students. Voices from the Middle

East, Europe. Africa, South Asia and even America help us see how this area of the world was always a crossroads on many levels. Brian has been the "soul" of this project and I owe him my appreciation forever. He has worked closely with Marni Penn who has been an associate editor as well the major researcher, typist, formatter and all-around worker. Without Marni, both Brian and I would have only empty pages to present to you.

One cannot forget the invaluable input of the scholars at the Hagop Kervorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies at New York University. Dr. Jill Claster, Director of the Institute, was instrumental in developing the section on the medieval period. Professor Lila Abu-Lughod of the Department of Anthropology at New York University continued to work with us on this volume. Her contributions are always outstanding. Professor Mona Mikhail, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literature, New York University, was instrumental in providing materials across all the time spans. Professor Zack Lochman, Middle Eastern Studies and History at New York University, played a major role with his contributions. Each of these educators has presented a short essay to exemplify why the Muslim Middle East is and has always been a crossroads.

Final thanks to Corina Udrea who has busily gathered permissions for us to reproduce materials. We have also coordinated our efforts with the Outreach coordinator at the Kervorkian Center. It is possible to contact them for appropriate videos to enrich the readings. These videos are available free of charge to teachers in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut. They can be reached at (212) 998-8872.

Finally, my own personal reaction to this project. I have learned so much. The readings rekindled my love of anthropology and history; the focus made me realize we need to change how we approach materials in our classrooms. As project coordinator, I am proud of these books and look forward to hearing your reaction to our efforts.

Editor Comments - Brian Kelahan

I have spent the better part of the past six years immersed in a graduate program studying the Middle East and Islam. One of the happy consequences of engaging in this process at New York University is that I have also been able to contribute to the Hagop Kevorkian Center's outreach efforts to serve the local teaching community. It was through my work in outreach that I came across Hazel Greenberg and the American Forum. There is a definite affinity between the work done by these two institutions and it was merely a matter of time before they collaborated on a specific project.

The first collaboration was volume I of this set, **Spotlight on the Muslim Middle East: Issues of Identity.** I was fortunate to have the opportunity to contribute in some small ways to that volume and was honored when Hazel asked me to work with her in completing the second volume. Through my work with high school teachers, I have noted that educators are always searching for that perfect reading or document which will encapsulate so many of the issues they must deal with when discussing the Middle East. Teachers recognize that it is simply impossible to teach properly about this vast subject through a chronological approach within a Global Studies or World History curriculum. They welcome suggestions to develop thematic approaches which can encompass more than one region. They also recognize that it makes no sense to teach about these geographic regions as though the history of a region was played out in isolation from the world around them.

The theme of the first volume, sources of identity, allows the teachers to look at this part of the world through a lens which they can then turn to another part of the world, and most importantly, they can turn back onto their students. It also encourages a multidisciplinary approach to the topic which seems to be an interest for many of our teachers.

We hope this second volume can continue in the same vein as the first in providing a multidisciplinary approach which will help our teachers get beyond the cafeteria style approach to Global History (i.e., we did the Middle East, let's move to Africa and then onto Japan) in which foods are not allowed to commingle. We know that our teachers want to be able to integrate Middle Eastern history more completely into American history and that they are still looking for those perfect source materials for classroom use.

Our theme for this volume, **Crossroads**, asks teachers to see the region as one which was, and is, in flux at all times. It has been subject to various influences (just as are our identities) and has brought its influence to bear on various times and places. These influences, or crossroads, have been based on relative economic and political strengths and weaknesses and have been transmitted through the full range of cultural motifs and expressions available to the individual societies. Our challenge was to make these general concepts useable and teachable given the various constraints faced by teachers in the classroom.

We have somewhat limited ourselves by identifying four periods which already seem to be highlighted in most curricula - the medieval, precolonial, colonial, and modern periods. Within each of these periods we have selected a range of readings which provide a breadth of understanding for the specific period while presenting options for connecting events between periods. We have collected diverse sources including treaties, poetry, letters, and traveller's literature. We think we have provided rich materials for interdisciplinary approaches to the subject areas and we have included a range of difficulty in the readings. We know doubt have left out that one item which seemed so obvious to you so we will ask that you contact us and we will include it on our list for the next volume.

I will thank the various members of the collaborative team which has made this project possible. It has been an incredible learning experience for me on so many levels. I have enjoyed exploring a different level of relationship with the faculty in my department at NYU. I especially wish to thank Jill Claster, who seemed to believe that I was made to work with teachers, for providing me with so many opportunities to engage in this particularly rewarding work. I thank Marni Penn, my collaborator on this project and a number of others at NYU -- she has a unique ability to sense when I've gone too far with what to expect of teachers and their students. I thank Joe Wilcox, a late entry to the project who would probably not have come aboard if he knew the full extent of his sentence. I thank Hazel Greenberg who is simply tireless and endlessly expounding upon another project she has designed. The teaching community is truly fortunate to have someone with her abilities and energy on their side. Finally, I thank my wife, Colleen Connor, who has had to live through this project along with my malingering graduate studies and has stayed with me at every crossroad.

THE CRUSADING ERA

PROFESSOR JILL N. CLASTER, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
DIRECTOR, HAGOP KEVORKIAN CENTER FOR NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

In the history of the contacts between the Near East and the West, the Crusades and the Crusader Kingdom centered in Jerusalem form one of the most fascinating episodes and the one which has in recent decades undergone the most frequent reinterpretation.

The impetus for the crusades and their effect on the relations between East and West have been extensively revisited by historians in an attempt to understand the nature of the contacts and the legacy of the crusades. As a consequence there is far more known about the crusading period and some of the old saws about the crusades have been dispelled. It is no longer possible, as it once was, to view the crusades as the seminal event which opened relations between the East and the West, led to trade which had not previously existed, and brought a wealth of new learning from the Islamic world into western Europe. It is altogether a more complex story and a far more interesting one.

One of the most significant changes in the way the crusades are now approached is to study them from an eastern as well as western perspective. The centuries of crusading warfare and settlement were at least as much a crossroads for the eastern Mediterranean as for the Latin west. The readings have been selected to illuminate not only the contacts themselves, but also to flesh out the eastern attitudes towards the western crusaders. This eastern perspective now includes the role of the Byzantine Greek empire which played a major part, suffering greatly during the crusading era.

From the fourth century onward, following the legalization of Christianity by the Emperor Constantine, the most holy sites in Christendom -- Jerusalem itself and the scenes of Christ's martyrdom and burial, encompassed in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher -- had been the object of western pilgrimages. Even after the Muslims took control of the Syrian-Palestinian coast in the seventh century, Christian pilgrims were permitted to visit Jerusalem and the holy places. In addition, there is certain evidence of trade, particularly between the Italian commercial cities, such as Amalfi, Venice, and Pisa and the port cities on the eastern Mediterranean in the two hundred years prior to the crusades.

A relative political stability existed in the East between Byzantium and its Islamic neighbors in Egypt, Syria and the lands we now call Iran and Iraq. This stability was seriously disrupted in the course of the eleventh century by the advent of the Seljuk Turks, an Asiatic people who first attacked the Muslims and then threatened and finally attacked the Byzantine empire. Although the balance of power shifted dramatically, there is little evidence to prove that the conditions for western pilgrimage and trade actually worsened in any drastic way. The successes of the Seljuk Turks, however, exposed the growing weaknesses and internecine struggles within Byzantium which made it difficult for the Greeks to defend themselves. Although the Turks converted to Islam, they were at least as great a threat to the Egyptian and Syrian caliphates as they were to the Greeks.

In 1071 the Turks inflicted a crushing defeat against a large Byzantine army at Manzikert and in that same year, another group of Seljuk Turks captured Jerusalem. The fall of Jerusalem to the Turks caused a great outrage in the West, although the Holy City was actually recaptured by the Egyptian Caliphate in 1098, the year before the crusading armies reached it.

The background in the Latin West was the growing strength of the papacy and the revitalization of religious life which had begun in the tenth century. By the mid-eleventh century the papacy had achieved a large measure of control over the churches in western Christendom and had led the movement to reform all aspects of institutional and popular religious life. There was a spiritual energy among Europeans as well as the papacy's desire to forge a strong Christian community in the West and to exert supremacy over Christians in both the West and the East. At the same time there was a population growth in Europe, a restless land-hunger among many younger sons of the nobility and a great deal of local fighting, despite the papacy's efforts to curb warfare among Europeans.

Despite the centuries-old history of mutual dislike and distrust between the Greek-speaking Byzantine empire and the Latin West, fueled by the deep-seated hostility between the Eastern Orthodox and the Latin churches, the Byzantine rulers sent emissaries to the papacy seeking aid against the Turks. The fall of Jerusalem and the Greek cry for help provided a perfect opportunity for the papacy and served as the impetus for Urban's stirring and effective call for the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont in 1095.

Several aspects of Urban's speech at Clermont stand out in high relief in terms of the relations between Islam and the West. Urban solidified the image of the "terrible Turk" -- "an accursed race, a race utterly alienated from God," he called them -- and then further grouped the other Muslims with the Turks into the Infidel, the "other" against whom all Latin Christendom should fight.

Pope Urban's speech also solidified the idea of the holy war -- a war justified on theological and ideological grounds because it was conceived as a war against Christ's enemies. The pope and his fellow theologians used the theory of a "just war," propounded by St. Augustine. To the idea that there can be wars to serve God was added the idea that the crusades were to be undertaken as a form of penance. "Accordingly," Urban said, "undertake this journey for the remission of your sins and with the assurance of the imperishable glory of heaven." At the end of the pope's speech the crowd rose up and shouted "Deus vult! Deus vult!" ("God wills it! God wills it!")

Although not many years ago a contemporary historian of the crusades commented that when the cry of "God wills it!" went up, the crowd "may have been right ... but I doubt it," the pendulum has swung back and the origin of at least the First Crusade is now viewed as primarily a religious undertaking. People went, of course, for many different reasons, gain and adventure among them. But the movement could hardly have taken fire without the groundswell of popular piety and the religious fervor which accompanied the crusades.

"In our own time," a contemporary wrote during the crusading era, "God has instituted a holy manner of warfare." Although the papacy itself eventually subverted the crusading ideal and used the holy war to justify its battles against heretics in Europe and ultimately even against its own enemies, the idea of the holy war persisted, as indeed it still does.

The First Crusade, from a western military point of view, was the only successful crusade. It ended with the capture of Jerusalem and the taking of the Syrian-Palestinian coast as well as inland territory at Antioch and Edessa. Although never in the original design, the territories won from the Turks were formed into the Latin Kingdom with its capital at Jerusalem. The lands held by the crusaders were whittled away from them over time, but the traditional end of the Kingdom did not come until 1291, when the fortified city of Acre fell and the last crusader strongholds were lost.

The fall of the Latin Kingdom in 1291 in no way diminished the papal desire to defeat the Turks and recapture Jerusalem. Popular crusading ardor diminished considerably after the fall of Acre and there were only sporadic attempts through the mid-fifteenth century to undertake a crusade, but the idea remained dear to the heart of the papacy.

The capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453 and the consequent demise of the Byzantine empire caused a great furor in Europe, not unmixed with guilt over the western failure to "save" the East from the Turks. Some historians have therefore taken the last crusade to be the sad affair called by Pope Pius II shortly after the fall of Constantinople. The crusade itself is a dismal story because it was quite literally a crusade to which no one actually came; the pope died before he could learn that it was a total fiasco.

Still, it underlines one interpretation of the crusading movement, namely that it can be understood as a chapter -- albeit a long one -- in the history of the relations between the East and West. In that view, the Latin Kingdom was only a part of the chapter and the story can begin as far back as the Islamic conquests in the eastern Mediterranean in the seventh century or even further back with the hostility between the Greek East and the Latin West. The crusading era, in this interpretation, is the "Frankish solution" to the eastern problem.

The Crusader Kingdom was a singularly peculiar creation. Although it has been viewed by some historians

as the first manifestation of European imperialism in the Near East, or the first manifestation of colonialism in the Near East, to use a more contemporary term of opprobrium, the fact is that the kingdom was neither. It was not in any political or legal way tied to any power in Europe; the Latin Kingdom owed no allegiance to any particular country, nor could the kingdom depend on any one country for help in maintaining its existence.

The creators of the kingdom did their best to forge feudal relationships between the King of Jerusalem and the quite independent lords in the Latin countries and principalities of the Holy Land, but the kings had little in the way of coercive power. The crusaders lived in the fortified towns and cities of the Near East and depended for their food on the agriculture in the surrounding countryside. Although there was little attempt on the Frankish side to understand the culture of the Islamic world, the Frankish conquerors quite literally lived within the Muslim world.

The conquering Latins emptied whole cities of their Muslim (and usually also Jewish) populations and then moved into the homes that were left. They came to appreciate and to adopt the finer things in oriental life -- the light silk clothing in sweltering weather, rather than the wool they brought from home; the nap on a hot summer day; bathing regularly, eating new foods - a healthier diet of fruits, vegetables and nuts, among other things, than they had ever enjoyed. And spices and carpets and beautiful houses ... all the creature comforts the Franks had not known at home. And yet, they remained remarkably lacking in curiosity. The few words of Arabic that crept into their language were mainly names for things unknown before they went east, such as mosque.

It was once believed that the crusaders brought home to Europe the extraordinary culture and body of learning created in the Islamic world, and that the intellectual heritage of the Arabic world and the Greek world of classical learning preserved by the Muslims was transmitted to Europe through the Crusader Kingdom. But that was in fact not the case. The Arabic and Greek intellectual heritage in mathematics, medicine, philosophy, literature came into Europe through the translation centers in southern (Islamic) Spain and through the Muslim and Byzantine centers in Sicily. (See page 62 in the Teacher's Readings for a discussion of the influence of Islam on Medieval Europe)

The crusading movement is a fantastic story altogether, with great heroes on both sides -- who can equal Saladin? -- tales of miracles and marvels and holy relics. But in the end, the crusading era had a deleterious effect on both Muslims and Christians. In the name of God and of Allah both the Christians and Muslims tried to eradicate those whose faith was different. A twentieth century historian of the crusades summed it up quite beautifully when he wrote, "The triumphs of the Crusades were the triumphs of faith. But faith without wisdom is a dangerous thing ... There was so much courage and so little honor, so much devotion and so little understanding."

THE DYNAMICS OF CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS
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There are two general problems with the way the Middle East is commonly viewed. We often think about globalization as a new phenomenon, related to modern improvements in transporation and communication and to the development of contemporary global economic interdependencies. A look at the history of the Muslim Middle East shows that this is not as new a dynamic as one might think. From the readings on the pre-modern period it is clear that extensive interchange, commerce, and cultural exchange have existed for centuries. Some of the encounters between Europe and the Middle East have been hostile; many were not.

The fact is that the Muslim Middle East and what is now often thought of as "the West" have a shared history. Whether we talk about the 13th century when the Middle East was at the crossroads of world trade and the fulcrum of power in the world economic system linking Europe and the Far East or the 19th century when much of the Middle East was colonized by European nations, the links are undeniable. The results of these encounters have been various--consisting of borrowings or transplanting of ideas, technologies, and people.

Yet the remarkable thing is that this shared history and the story of these encounters are generally ignored. Instead, the Muslim Middle East is usually represented as fundamentally different and separate from "the West." One legacy of the projects of colonial domination is the representation of the Middle East as defined essentially by its association with a different religion --Islam-- and characterized by a variety of qualities, many of them negative. The two civilizations, as they are often described, are thought of as having developed independently from each other, only coming to clash or encounter recently.

The second problem with the way the Muslim Middle East is popularly viewed in the United States is that the story of its encounter with "the West" is often told as a story of modernization or westernization. Labeled a place of backwardness -- like many parts of what we used to call the Third World -- the Middle East was seen as on a rocky path of trying to emulate a superior culture and way of life. Or, for those more aware of the power dynamics involved in the encounter, the story was one of these countries being subjected to the onslaught of more powerful nations and ways of life. Here the talk is not of westernization but of cultural homogenization as everyone drinks Coca Cola, listens to pop music, or wears similar clothes.

Matters are far more complex. It is more useful for understanding the Muslim Middle East to recognize that not only has there been a long history of encounters between people of this region and what has come to be seen as a separate civilization known as "the West" but that there are many possible dynamics in such encounters. Those who talk about cultural domination or cultural imperialism grant too much power to Western institutions, although Salim Tamari's article on the impact of international agencies today on the scholarly practices of Palestinians shows clearly that local situations continue to be deformed by outside demands. Those who talk simply about cultural diffusion -- the spread of elements and innovations from one community to another (evidenced in the borrowings of poetry, literature, and architecture discussed in readings on the colonial era or in the spread and transformation of the Muharram Festival as it moved from Iran to India to Trinidad) -- err in the other direction. They ignore the differing powers of cultures to impose their ideas and practices on others or to appear appealing.

The readings in the section on the colonial and modern period illustrate other dynamics in cultural encounters between the Middle East and "the West" that do not fit these simple models of cultural domination or cultural diffusion. The following five dynamics may help one think in a more complex way about what happens when peoples and cultures meet.

(1) Constructing Difference: What often happens in cultural encounters is that a sense of difference is exaggerated as "the other" is stereotyped. This is often accompanied by a self-stereotyping which bolsters the sense of one's own culture as more unified than it actually may be. Differences within one's own community are erased or underplayed. Stereotyping of others may be a universal human tendency. Yet it is important to keep in mind that when stereotypes become codified, used as the basis of policy decisions, backed by the authority of experts in a situation of unequal power between groups, as has been the case in Europe and the United States regarding the Middle East, the consequences are more serious.

(2) Turning Oneself into an Object: When people in certain communities come to be the objects of the gaze of others, whether the trained gaze of scholars and experts or the curious gaze of tourists and travelers, they can come to see themselves as they are seen by others. For example, like the Assyrian statue speaking about his museum existence (al-Buraikan's poem), Moroccans have come to see themselves and their country as on display. From Ossman's description of being a tourist in Morocco we get a sense of how young Moroccans have learned what is exotic and "Moroccan" about themselves and their surroundings and are anxious to show it to outsiders.

(3) Selectively Appropriating: People are selective in what they want to borrow or adapt from other cultures. When Middle Easterners became familiar with Europe and European ways, as did writers and thinkers like Taha Husayn, who studied in Paris, and Muhammad Nuwayhi, who studied and taught in London, they found qualities they admired and characteristics they wished their society to emulate, including secularism and modern technology and education. But they rejected other aspects of European culture.

(4) Reacting through Rejection: Many Middle Easterners who encounter Europe under difficult conditions, for example as migrant laborers like Haddou (McMurray) working long hours for little pay and experiencing racism, respond with a nostalgic longing for a home culture frozen in time. Others in similar situations react by taking up a militant stance, rejecting the alien "West" and asserting a contrary identity that draws on cultural resources such as Islam not shared with Europeans. Many of those who now self-consciously assert an Islamic identity developed their ideas while in Europe or the United States.

(5) Hybridization: What often happens is a hybridization as people in and of the Middle East forge new identities and cultural forms using the resources of the two or more cultures of which they feel a part. The new popular fast food places in modern Istanbul that have the ambiance and look of the MacDonald's next door but serve the fast foods like kebabs long favored in Turkey are an example. An even better example is the rai music described by Gross, McMurray, and Swedenburg. Associated with a youth culture in Algeria it was taken up by people of North African origin living in France. As a form of music it was already hybrid, initially a blend of rural and cabaret musical genres that incorporated Spanish and other North African musical styles. In the 1970s it was further inflected by influences from American, Egyptian, Indian, African, and European pop music. It serves now as a rallying point of a distinct immigrant identity.

The Colonial Period

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As the earlier sections of this volume illustrate, the peoples and states of Europe and the Middle East have interacted politically, economically and culturally for many centuries. Rather than being isolated from one another or constituting totally distinct worlds, these regions and their inhabitants have influenced one another in many ways.

European merchants travelled to, and sometimes settled in, Middle Eastern cities in order to obtain the highly desirable commodities which the region produced and those which Muslim merchants imported further east, from India, China and the "Spice Islands" (Today's Indonesia). Middles Eastern states had diplomatic ties, and sometimes political and military alliances with European states. The Ottoman empire was allied with France during Europe's sixteenth-century wars of religion, since they shared a common enemy in Hapsburg-ruled Austria. Medieval European Christian scholars regarded the Muslim world as a source of wisdom, and lands where Muslims, Christians and Jews lived side by side in relative tranquility (Spain before the Christian reconquest and the expulsion of the Jews and Muslims) provided opportunities for Europeans to acquire from the Arabs not just the lost learning of ancient Greece but also the new learning produced by the great medieval Arab-Muslim philosophers and scientists.

From about the sixteenth century onward, however, relations between Europe and the Middle East began to change, in ways that manifested the growing economic and later political power of the former over the latter. In 1492 Europeans trying to sail westward across the Atlantic to reach China and Japan "discovered" the western hemisphere, and the vast wealth of the "New World" greatly strengthened the European states which in the centuries that followed would carve out great empires there. A few years later European explorers finally succeeded in voyaging around Africa and making direct contact with India and the Far East. Though it took several centuries for European traders and governments the fully exploit this achievement, it opened the way for a profound shift in the place of the Middle East in the economy of the "Old World" (Asia, Europe and northern Africa). Middle Eastern states and merchants had benefitted from their location astride the lucrative trade routes that linked Asia and Europe; now European merchants could cut out the middleman and go directly to the source, which eventually hurt Middle Eastern economies.

As Europe's new wealth helped stimulate rapid economic development and population growth, European states began exerting greater political influence, and eventually control, in areas outside Europe. Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, France and Britain all carved out empires in the Americas; but they simultaneously began establishing

spheres of influence, and later empires, in Asia and Africa as well. A new era had begun, the era of expanding European colonialism: the British began taking over the Indian subcontinent, the Dutch began seizing control of what would later become Indonesia, and the Spanish, French and Portuguese also began turning economic influence into direct or indirect colonial rule over Asian and African peoples. The Muslim Middle East began to fall into Europe's economic orbit in the seventeenth century: it increasingly became a supplier of raw materials to Europe and a consumer of goods produced in Europe. But this region was not directly threatened by European colonialism until much later, until the latter part of the eighteenth century.

By that time the Ottoman Empire, which had for centuries ruled much of the Balkans, the eastern Arab world (including Egypt) and Anatolia, had grown weaker in relation to its European rivals. Until the end of the seventeenth century, European rulers had regarded the Ottoman Empire as a well-organized state and feared its powerful armies. But the Ottomans had reached the limits of their expansion, and by 1700 were beginning to lose territory, in southeastern Europe and later in central Asia, to Austria and Russia. Within the empire, beset by financial crises and military defeats, the Ottoman ruling elite found it increasingly difficult to exercise effective control over its far-flung empire; Egypt, which had been under Ottoman rule since 1517, was by the 1700s virtually autonomous, ruled by the Mamluks, a military caste of Turkish-Circassian origin.

It was this situation that, in the 1790s, made it possible for the leaders of revolutionary France, engaged in a war with Britain, to perceive a power vacuum in Egypt which might be profitably exploited. France's leaders hoped that the conquest of Egypt, perceived as a potentially rich land, might be of economic benefit to France, and it would also give France a strategic toehold in the eastern Mediterranean and a springboard for the conquest of Palestine and Syria; the politicians also hoped that the expedition would divert the energies of the ambitious and popular young officer appointed to command the French forces in Egypt, Napoleon Bonaparte.

The proclamation which Napoleon issued upon landing in Egypt in 1798 echoed key themes of the French Revolution: the end of tyranny, equality and social justice. But of course the French invaded Egypt out of self-interest, something the Egyptians quickly understood. As the chronicles written by the great Egyptian scholars Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti make clear, if Napoleon brought scholars and scientists to Egypt to learn about that land and its people, the Egyptians were also trying to make sense of the French and their apparently bizarre ways. In later years Arabs, among them the Egyptian Rif'at Rafi' al-Tahtawi and the Moroccan diplomat, Muhammad as-Saffar, would travel to Europe and describe what they had seen and learned for the edification of their compatriots, while Europeans who had travelled to or lived in the Middle East would write a great deal about the history, cultures and customs of the region.

Napoleon exploited the alleged success of his campaign in Egypt to return to France and seize power, but in 1801 the British and their allies the Ottomans forced the army he had left behind to leave Egypt. France's dominion in the Middle East was thus short-lived; but it exposed the vulnerability of the Ottoman empire and whetted the growing appetite of European states for expansion into the Mediterranean region.

In the course of the nineteenth century, Middle Eastern economies fell increasingly under European economic domination, and economic influence was accompanied by political influence. European states supported efforts by some of the Christian peoples under Ottoman rule, like the Serbs, the Greeks, the Bulgarians and others, to break way and seek independence. In 1830 France invaded Algeria, and over the century that followed hundreds of thousands of Europeans settled there, enjoying a privileged life on land taken from the indigenous Muslim population, now reduced to subordinate status in the land of their birth.

The Ottoman government, recognizing the growing threat of European encroachment and facing dismemberment at the hands of Russia and Austria, strove mightily to create a new, more effective and more centralized empire. To accomplish this, however, it borrowed heavily from European banks, and by the 1870s it was bankrupt and subjected to European financial supervision. Egypt, which had become autonomous under the rule of Muhammad Ali and his successors, underwent the same experience: heavy borrowing for development (including the construction of the Suez Canal) led to bankruptcy in 1876 and the imposition of European financial control. When Egyptians rose up to oppose European control, British troops occupied the country in 1882 and would remain until the mid-1950s. The

French took control of Tunisia at about the same time. Italy invaded Ottoman-ruled Libya in 1911, Morocco fell under French control in 1912, and after the First World War Britain and France divided the Arab provinces of the defunct Ottoman Empire into new states -- Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq -- and controlled them through a slightly veiled form of colonial rule. The small Arab principalities along the western shore of the Persian Gulf, where later vast oil deposits would be developed, became British protectorates, and Iran fell under the economic and political sway of Britain and Russia.

The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries thus witnessed the imposition of direct or indirect European colonial power in most of the Middle East. But colonialism was not simply a system of political rule. It also involved a set of ideas, of perceptions and images, a vision of how the world worked. As the Earl of Cromer's discussion of Egypt and the Egyptians illustrates, most Europeans came to ascribe a whole set of traits to non-Europeans, including Middle Eastern Muslims; they were depicted as ignorant, backward, lazy, incompetent, irrational, incapable of ruling themselves properly, and so on. By contrast, Europeans tended to regard themselves as superior in intellect and morality, as belonging to a more advanced civilization. Obviously, these notions served to rationalize and justify European colonial rule: as members of a superior civilization, Europeans had both the right and the duty to rule over inferior peoples. These attitudes drew on older hostile Christian attitudes toward Islam but also on nineteenth-century ideas about the superiority of European civilization, and sometimes also on new "scientific" claims about the alleged biological superiority (and therefore right to rule) of white Europeans.

In this way, the power which Europeans exercised over non-Europeans, among them Middle Easterners, was inextricably bound up with certain kinds of "knowledge" which Europeans developed and propagated about subjugated peoples. This was manifested in all sorts of ways, ranging from scholarship (anthropology's emergence as a discipline was closely bound up with colonial expansion and the need to better understand non-European peoples) to art (for example, the "Orientalist" genre of nineteenth-century painting whose key themes evoked the purported lasciviousness of Islamic societies) to popular literature (often featuring distorted depictions of Muslims, Arabs and Islam) to official policy.

European colonial rule had a profound impact on Middle Eastern societies. The borders of most contemporary Middle Eastern states were drawn by British and French officials to suit their own purposes; in fact, those states were often put together by colonial officials who paid little attention to the interests and aspirations of the subject population or to older identities and relationships. Colonial regimes often fostered better transportation and communications and helped lay the foundations of modern nation-states, but they did so primarily to further their own interests, not those of the people over whom they ruled. Colonial rulers often shaped economic policy in the territories they ruled in ways that hindered future economic development and contributed to the impoverishment of the indigenous masses. They underfunded education, for fear that a better-educated population might be more receptive to nationalism. They sought to maintain control and defeat local anticolonial resistance by playing ethnic and religious groups against one another; and when divide-and-rule tactics failed, they used brute military force to crush opposition and silence the indigenous population.

On the eve of the First World War, the major European powers had more or less completed the territorial division of the globe amongst themselves; it was the heyday of colonialism, and most Europeans believed that Europe's domination of the planet would last forever. In fact, nationalist movements spread and gained strength in the decades that followed, and after the Second World War colonial empires began to shrink rapidly as more and more peoples won independence, sometimes peacefully but sometimes after very bitter and violent struggles to out their colonial overlords. In the Middle East, Iraq won formal independence in 1930, Egypt in 1936 and Syria and Lebanon in 1946. While the former colonial powers, and foreign economic interests, remained powerful in many countries even after formal independence, the era of European domination was clearly waning.

Yet the legacy of European rule remains. North African intellectuals to this day often find it more comfortable to use French than Arabic. Patterns of economy, society and politics developed during the era of colonialism often persist. At the same time, the achievement of national independence has not solved the problems which Middle Eastern states face. While people could unite around a common desire to end foreign rule, nationalist coalitions quickly broke

up as different groups put forward different visions of the future. Many Middle Eastern states experienced considerable political instability after independence and continue to struggle with economic underdevelopment, rapid population growth, regional conflicts, and deep internal divisions over identity and nationhood.

The Muslim Middle East: Cultural Crossroads

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Literature and art we are often told are the best means to learn about a region and its people. Although this may sound more like a cliche it has withstood throughout centuries, and some cliches are worth keeping. After all it is through the novels and plays of writers like Tolstoy, Gogol and Chekov that we have come to know a great deal about Russia, and likewise we can delve into the psyche and ethos of Middle Eastern countries by reading their poetry, novels and short stories. Be it the Thousand and One Nights, or Naguib Mahfouz' Trilogy, the novels of the Saudi Abd al-Rahman Munif, or the poetry of the Lebanese Etel Adnan or Adunis, the writings of these men and women, more than any other medium encapsulate and distil for readers the varied discourses of the Arab cultural heritage.

Northrop Frye wrote in his Anatomy of Criticism, (Princeton Univ. Press 1973, p.346.)

"The culture of the past is not only the memory of mankind, but our own buried life, and study of it leads to a recognition scene, a discovery in which we see, not our past lives, but the total cultural form of our present life."

The Thousand and One Nights, (Alf Layla wa Layla) a masterpiece of Arabic literature and an endless source of inspiration to Eastern and Western art, can be a good point of departure to initiate conversations about the interfacing of cultures. Its enduring attraction, throughout the ages, (many of the stories of Boccaccio's Decameron amongst others have been modelled after the Tales.) Its enticing narratives not only inspired the distant pat, but also contemporary writers, musicians and painters across the continents and cultures have themselves created masterpieces with affinities to the Thousand and One Nights. Rimsky Korsakov's Shehrazade, as well as numerous nineteenth and twentieth century painters from Rossati to Henri Matisse have dug into the endless resources of these stories. The persona of Shehrazade the great spinner of tales can also be read as a role model not only for Midle Eastern women, but for women at large. After all she embarked on her perilous adventure of narrating tales not only to save her neck, but to protect and save all the endangered women from the mysogenic husband, Sharayar. In the process she "civilizes" him, through her vast knowledge and perspicacity.

Here would be a good opportunity to discuss the dangers of stereotyping and tendencies to exoticise this culture. Because women in the Middle East in general are inaccessible to the West, their representation becomes the object of much attention, in different forms of art and media.

New interpretations of the persona of this multifaceted woman can be discovered in the writings of modern writers such as Tawfiq al-Hakim's modern intellectual drama of Shehrazade.

This Hispano Arab period in Al-Andalus as well as Sicily are two crossroads to investigate, through multidisciplinary approaches as well as interdisciplinary readings, the close encounters between East and West, North and South. The lyrical and intriguing Muwashahat, a genre of poetry put to song, still inspires modern day poets in both form and content, and continues to be highly regarded and performed to this day.

Arabs and Europeans continue to meet on the shores of the Mediterranean as they did in the distant past. The encounters of Roger II and Frederic the II with the Arab culture of medieval times, continues in different forms, more wrenching

and questioning in the writings of Middle Eastern and North African writers such as Amin Maalouf or Driss Chraibi or Al-Tayyib Saleh.

The real and imaginary journey of an Arab into the heart of Africa, such as Ibn Battuta or the mid nineteenth century forays of Al-Tahtawi in Paris or again in contemporary views into Crusader Times, is creatively challenging in the writings of Maalouf, and could be interfaced with the writings of Driss Charaibi's saga of an Arab intellectual's clashes with both his own heritage, and the alienation he experiences with an adopted western culture.

Nowhere do we more poignantly trace the Arab's dilemma in the twentieth century than through the poetic discourse of writers as Al Sayyab, Adonis, or Al-Bayatti. Their poetry reflects the dynamics of change that have operated in Arab societies throughout history. T.S. Eliot's poetry and criticism have played a pivotal role in the intellectual formation of that most influential schools of poets sometimes refered to as the Tummuzid poets. The god Tammuz, one of the many dieties of the Mesopotamiam pantheon, was revived in the poetry and writings of these writers, similar to what T.S. Eliot did in his most influential "The Wasteland," that seminal work which has left a most profound impact on poets of the second half of the twentieth century. Tradition and individual talents become the pivotal realm of discussion amongst the writers, and by extension spread out to a wider conversation amongst intellectuals at large. At the core of this conversation is the Arab intellectual's discussion of his/her cultural heritage with regard to its content, functio and value.

The concept of authenticity becomes the cornerstone of widespread debates after the 1950's. In many of the writings of poets and novelists, authenticity came to mean individuality and in some cases liberation from tradition. Individual talent as such was that which managed to retain ancestral elements of one's culture mingled with one's intrinsic talent. The hard task of the writer was to find a point of reconciliation. The challenge was and remains the capacity of selecting elements from the old culture, and adapting others from modern Western culture, amlagamating them as it were to ensure change and mobility.

Teaching Methodology

What we teach in the classroom is our single most important task. Content material must be timely, accurate, provocative, challenging, multicultural and multidisciplinary, and exciting. However, the content cannot be totally effective without innovative methodology.

We have grown to understand a good deal about the learning process over the last 25 years. In the "factory model" classroom, the students were required to sit quietly and absorb what the teacher was saying. The lecture format was standard and, unfortunately, continues to be used in some classrooms today. But we know that the "chalk and talk" format is not truly successful. We need to draw upon all the known and unknown resources the students bring to the classroom; we need to move the students from the known to the unknown, expanding their knowledge base and their curiosity as we progress. Getting students involved in the process of learning is crucial in today's environment.

However, there has been the veritable information explosion and teachers can no longer be considered the primary dispensers of information. The teacher cannot know everything, nor can the teacher be expected to instruct the student in how they can "think through" the material and apply it to their lives. The teacher can only serve as a facilitator, a mentor, a model from which the students can process the material. The teacher, like his students, is also the student.

In this curriculum guide, we have made an important decision. Rather than develop detailed lesson plans which provide step-by-step procedures for the students and the teachers, we have decided to provide an array of broad stroke methodologies. In other words, we are including an introductory section which cites several classroom strategies which we endorse and have found to be successful. In each of the sections, as we provide additional information on the readings, we will suggest possible classroom strategies. However, we are leaving the final decision to the classroom teacher. The strategy the teacher selects will be determined by the length of time for the unit. If the teacher is able to devote three weeks to the issue of identity, multiple cooperative learning and jigsaw lessons can be developed. If, on the other hand, the unit needs to be completed in five lessons, the teacher may select some strategies which are shorter. We subscribe to any student involvement strategies. In the long run, the classroom teacher knows the culture of his school and his classroom better than anyone else and should determine the appropriate classroom activities.

The guide, a compilation of classroom strategies and activities, includes:

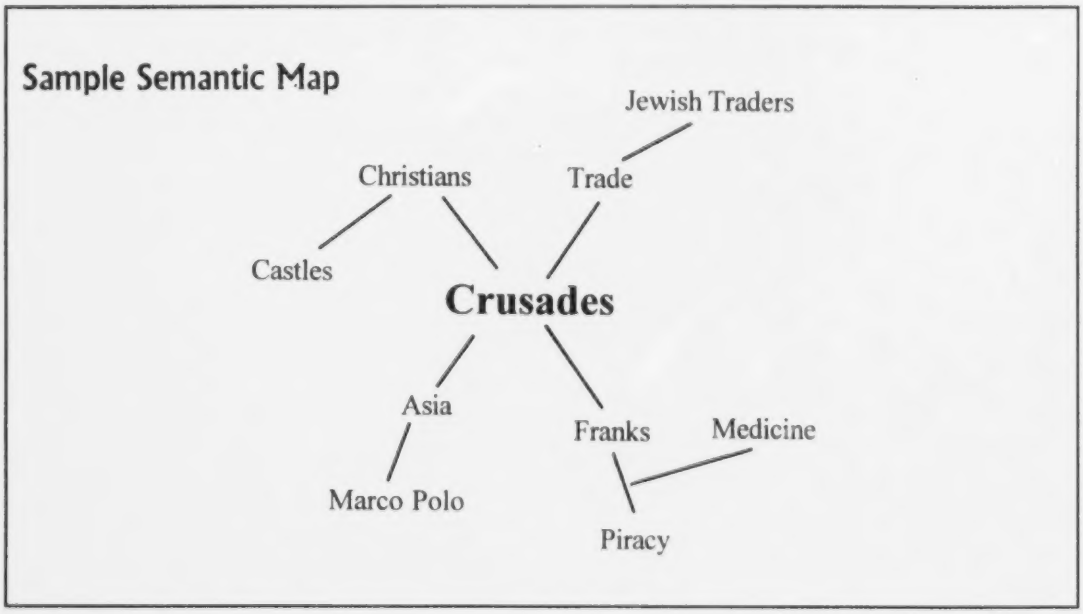
(A) TAPPING PRIOR KNOWLEDGE
semantic mapping, anticipation guides, "What I Know" charts
(B) VOCABULARY STRATEGIES
acquisition, CLOZE, building vocabulary and conceptual knowledge
(C) WRITING STRATEGIES
frames, essays, learning logs, and double-entry journals
(D) REVIEW STRATEGIES
organizers
(E) INVOLVEMENT STRATEGIES
cooperative learning

A. Tapping Prior Knowledge Skills Strategies

a. Semantic Mapping

This activity provides the teacher with a quick assessment of the students' background knowledge. It is also an excellent framework for introducing new vocabulary and concepts. From the students' point of view, the activity helps them to recall their prior knowledge and encourages them to share that with other students.

- Students are given a word, a phrase, or a concept.
- They are asked to think silently for a minute or two, jotting down any ideas or thoughts that come to mind.
- The activity is then opened to the class, and the students are asked to "brainstorm" their thoughts with fellow students.
- A map or web of ideas is developed which may be sequenced, prioritized or grouped.
- A summary activity would require the students to add new information to the map to create a written paragraph.



b. Anticipation Guides

An anticipation guide consists of a series of statements about the content which is to be taught. This strategy is useful in helping the teacher learn how much of the reading the student understood, what prior knowledge the student had and how this knowledge can be drawn upon on other levels. For the student, it teaches reading with curiosity and reinforces their learning through the writing process.

- At the beginning of the lesson, students are asked to complete Column A of the guide by checking whether they agree or disagree with the statements.
- Then they may work in pairs or groups to group ideas that have something in common so that they can predict what the selection will be about.
- Next they read the selection and revise their opinions based on the information they read. This information should be written in column B of the guide.

Statements are used rather than questions because students simply respond to the information. They don't have to generate information as they do when a question is asked. As students read, if their opinions are correct, they experience the "Aha!" of being right.

Sample Anticipation Guide

Part A: Before you read the selection, see how well you can **predict** or **anticipate** what you are going to learn. Base your prediction upon what you already know about the condition of Muslim workers in Europe. In Column A, place a check next to each statement you believe will be proven true when you read about Haddou.

A	B	
___	___	1. Most Moroccan workers in Europe live in France.
___	___	2. These workers blend into French society.
___	___	3. Moroccan workers get home every year.

Part B: After reading about Haddou, put in check in Column B next to all the statements you believe are true. How much did the reading about Haddou improve your understanding?

Part C: Rewrite each incorrect sentence to make it correct with the story. Questions
- In your experience, what helped you make that prediction?
- What else do you know about foreign workers in Europe?
- What connection is there between workers in this area of the world and workers in other areas of the world? Are their conditions the same? Different?
- What other readings have you found that deal with the same problem as Haddou?

c. "What I Know" Chart

This is a versatile strategy which may be used to help students tap into their prior knowledge of a topic or of a concept. This chart enables students to think and to write about what they already know, what they have learned (from the day's lesson or from an assigned reading), and what they need to know in order to facilitate a complete understanding of the lesson or reading.

How to Use the "What I Know" Chart

- Distribute the chart. At the top, write a key question.
- Have students brainstorm all they know about the topic. They write the information in Column I, What I Know.
- Pair students. Tell them to share all they know. Add new information to column I, What I Know.
- As students are doing this, the teacher should circulate and ask generic questions which encourage students to be more specific, point them in other directions.
- Tell them to place a dot (○) in front of everything about which they are sure.
- Next, tell them to generate a question for every item about which they are not sure. Categorize questions. This may be done in groups, pairs, or individually.
- Write ALL the questions that have been generated on the blackboard.
- Direct the students to begin reading about the topic or to begin listening for answers to the questions as the lesson develops.
- As students read or listen, they should answer as many of their questions as they can. These answers are placed under *What I Now Know*.
- Discuss answers and identify what puzzles students or what they are curious about. Identify what original questions remain unanswered. Write these questions under *What I Need/Want to Know*. Answers to these questions can be researched.
- Then, and this is very important, ask, "What did you learn that you did not have questions for?" This information can be added under *What I Now Know*.
- Finally, provide the students with time to answer the key question.

Question: _____

What I Know Chart

What I Know	What I Now Know	What I Need/Want to Know
		Answer to Question: _____ _____ _____ _____ _____

B. Vocabulary Strategies

a. Vocabulary Acquisition

Our students need to acquire a "social studies" vocabulary— language intrinsic (key) to the subject matter such as imperialism, democracy, etc. At the same time they must expand their vocabulary to include generic (core) languages - e.g. benefits, visuals, etc. The teacher can assist them by creating *dual glossaries*:

Key words are words which relate directly to social studies material and which are intrinsic to the content. Some examples of Key words include: imperialism, nationalism, feudalism, topography, scale, Lutheranism, etc. Core words are words that are generic to the language and not necessarily content specific. Examples of core worlds include: advantages, monarch, judicial, visuals, etc.

One strategy for vocabulary acquisition is to create a chart with headings: Words, General Class (key of core), Definition, Extra Information. As new words are added to the students vocabulary, they complete the chart and create sentences using both key and core words. With this "testing" mechanism the student will have immediate use of the language and feel more comfortable.

b. Using Cloze for Concept and Vocabulary Development

Cloze involves the application of the psychological theory that readers fill in, complete or "cloze" gaps in comprehension to give meaning to what they read.

Procedure

- Choose a passage of about 300 words. Leave the first and last sentences intact—no deletions.
- Delete every nth word (or) Delete verbs, nouns, repositions or other part of speech (or) Delete key words. (See Sample passage.)
- Distribute the passage to students. Have them fill in the missing words using the four column guide or give them choices of words that will fit in the blank.
  (1) Student fills in the word he thinks is appropriate in Column I.
  (2) Class is divided into groups of 4. All words selected by group are entered in Column II.
  (3) Group reaches consensus of best word which is entered in Column III.
  (4) Students check their word choices against words of author, found in Column IV.
- Class discussion of word choices and reasons for word choices.

Sample Cloze Chart			
Your Choice	Group Choices	Group Consensus	Author word

c. Building Vocabulary and Conceptual Knowledge

(Adapted from *Enhancing Social Studies Through Literary Strategies*; Judith Irvin, John Lunstrum, Carol Lynch-Brown, Mary Shepard; National Council for the Social Studies; Washington, D.C. Bulletin 91, August, 1995)

The vocabulary used in the social studies classroom is often as strange to our students as a foreign language. It is imperative that vocabulary acquisition become a part of our daily classroom learning and that vocabulary become related to ideas or concepts. Recent research have developed some important insights into vocabulary acquisition and vocabulary instruction. These include:

- *What it means to "know" a word*: To "know" a word, understanding must be beyond the superficial level. One method is to develop a "knowledge rating" before the students read the material, this is "reteaching" the vocabulary.

	Know the word	Acquainted with the word	Word is unknown
Crusader	_____	_____	_____
Franks	_____	_____	_____
qadi	_____	_____	_____
Sultan	_____	_____	_____

- *The role of context in word learning*: Some learning from context occurs but is not very powerful. Nevertheless, it is useful to develop strategies which combine definitional and contextual approaches to vocabulary acquisition.

- *The usefulness of definitions*: Looking up words, by itself, does not lead to improved comprehension. This is only superficial understanding and often forgotten. To learn the word, it must be integrated into the schema of the reader.

- *The size and growth of vocabulary as the student matures*: Reading in content areas often leads to a widely diversified vocabulary but it also leads to vocabulary growth. Special social studies words need to be specifically explored in the classroom.

Simple Guidelines for Instruction: Sometimes the teachers should discuss with the students how they "figured out" the meaning of a word; sometimes the teachers should monitor the students understanding of new vocabulary. It is important to help students become independent word learners through assisting them in learning a variety of methods to acquire word meaning. Then students should use their newly acquired words in multiple ways -- through associations, synonyms, in writing, in speaking, in context. This leads to deep processing of the words. The new words must be further developed in future reading and writing assignments so that reinforcement is possible. Teachers can develop three to five new words a week by using the word for five consecutive days and have the students tally the number of times they use the new word.

An Example of Learning Strategies: You are about to use this material for teaching about the Muslim Middle East. There are many new words in these readings as well as the text book. Some of these words are: Crusaders, Sultan, Saracens, infidels, frankincense, qadi, suez, vermilion. Additional words will surface. The teacher will (a) need to determine that some words are more important for student learning than others; (b) take into consideration the extent of the student's prior knowledge. Here are some suggested strategies:

- *List-Group-Label*: (Hilda Taba) In this strategy, the teacher begins by using visuals or any other techniques to generate a list of words from the students. The teacher can also use a brainstorming strategy. Then group the words: mosques, minarets, caravansarie, etc. and label each group: e.g. transportation, food, buildings. After these steps, the teacher should interpret the data by identifying similarities and differences, comparing the date to other time frames and applying the words to new situations.

- *Word Maps*: This is similar to semantic mapping, using a word as the center and developing multiple examples to build a full background picture for the definition of the word.

- *Capsule Vocabulary*: The teacher begins by preparing a "capsule" of words which relate to a particular topic: e.g. emir, bey, sultan, monarch, ruler, crown prince, etc. Students use the capsule words as soon and as often as possible both in speaking and writing.

- *Contextual Redefinition*: The teacher will select words that may be unfamiliar to the students and then presents those words in isolation, asking for a definition from the students. After the students have given their definition, the teacher presents a sentence which illustrates the meaning of the unknown word. This should be a contextually rich sentence. Students try to "guess" the meaning of the new words. Students now turn to the dictionary to verify their guesses. This process assists students in becoming independent word learners through the use of context clues.

- *Assessing Vocabulary*: After introducing new vocabulary, post-reading and writing activities are needed to determine if the students have learned the vocabulary.

C. Writing Strategies

Writing is a skill. Students can be taught to overcome their fear of writing and to write with a degree of comfort. A good part of teaching students to write is to teach a *process* of writing. It is often important to model and demonstrate for the class and then allow the students time to practice. Sometimes it is really necessary to make writing a "step-by-step" experience. Once the students acquire skills, they will be less reluctant to deal with writing in the classroom and on examinations. In order for students to develop writing proficiency, it is vital to have a writing component as part of every lesson. Sometimes the writing may only take three or four minutes and involve the students in writing a question or summarizing a paragraph. At other times, the writing can be a full period activity and students can edit each others work in dyads or groups. There are endless possibilities for introducing writing into each lesson.

a. Writing Frames

This activity can either expand on a unit theme and/or summarize information. For the student, the frame helps the inexperienced writer because it provides a format for written expression. Students who are unable to begin their writing piece can more easily overcome "writer's block." There are many different types of frames the teacher may devise for the student. In developing a frame, the teacher may write the first sentence of every paragraph or present the students with an outline and assist them in "framing" the outline into sentences and paragraphs. The writing frame sets a model for what the writing piece should look like. Modeling is an essential teaching strategy.

b. Persuasive Essays

This activity helps students sharpen their powers of persuasion by learning what good reasons are; the difference between an example and a reason; the purpose of introductory and concluding paragraphs; paragraph format. Writing skills become integrated into the content area and the students are forced to use the content discussed in the classroom in a writing format. This moves the learning process and allows students to further integrate what they are learning into what they have learned. Students learn that writing helps them organize their thoughts and that "writing is thinking; writing is learning."

c. Learning Logs

We suggest that students receive a Learning Log every day, completing it in class or for homework. The Learning Log provides a framework for summarizing the day's work, placing responsibility on both the learner and the teacher. For the student, the log cements the day's learning, clarifies questions that may still remain and makes student responsibility an integral part of the learning process. It models the process that good learners use. The student is forced to think about what he/she learned, did not understand and would like to know more about. The teacher should review the logs for feedback as to how well the students have learned the material, what information must be clarified, and what additional information would be of interest to the students.

Learning Log Form

Directions: At the end of the lesson each day it is important to think about what you have learned. This activity will help you remember the day's learning while it is still fresh in your mind.

1. Today's lesson was about _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____.

2. I learned that _____

_____

I also learned _____

_____

_____.

3. One thing I do not understand is _____

_____

_____.

Another thing that confuses me is _____

_____

_____.

4. I want to know _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____.

Name _____

Class _____ Date _____

d. Journals

Journals are versatile learning tools. They tell teachers how individual students are progressing, what needs clarification, and what is understood. Journal writing requires students to process the learning of the lesson immediately, to acquire ownership of the information, to capture "fresh" insights, and to speak directly to the teacher.

An easy way to introduce either type of journal is by modeling. Compose a sample journal entry on the blackboard or on an overhead transparency. Share your thinking with the class. Let students *hear you think and make corrections and changes.* Then, let students talk about what they will write before they write their own journal entries.

Journal writing has many uses. It can be assigned to summarize lessons, for homework, as a "Do now" that provides a bridge from the previous day's lesson or as notes for absent students to consult. When the teacher reads the journals, (s)he responds to them as if (s)he were talking to the student. Since journal writing is "free" or spontaneous, and not revised, spelling and grammar do not "count."

Good readers employ a number of strategies to make sense of the material they are reading. Some of these strategies include paraphrasing, asking questions, seeing pictures (visualizing), making predictions and revising them, having feelings, making connections to other things the reader knows and recognizing signal words like, but, however, and, therefore.

Directions: Divide your paper in half by folding it from top to bottom. From the reading, select and copy a few sentences *that interest you.* Write them on the left side of the paper. On the right side, write your ideas about the selections you chose, i.e., your questions or what you think the selection means, what the writer helped you to see, what you think will happen, how you feel about the selection you chose, and what the part you chose reminded you about.

Double Entry Journal Sample	
This town has a great trade with people of Cairo as well as with those of all India, and the people of India trade with it. There are many important merchants in the city with great riches, and many from other countries live there also. This city is a meeting place for merchants.	*Student response: Cities seem to be centers of wealth -- London, Paris, New York, Tokyo. These cities in the Middle East were really big trading centers -- lots of different people lived there -- people from all over the world.*
Their womenfolk do not cover their hands, not even their queen does so, and they comb their hair and gather it at one side. More of them wear only an apron from their waist to the ground, the rest of their bodies being uncovered	*Student response: I always thought places like India and that part of the world were more modern. Now I see that people dressed for the climate in areas other than Africa. I wonder if that was true in Southeast Asia too?*

D. Review Strategies

Our students today need "speedy practice." Material must be reviewed frequently during the lesson. Working informally in dyads (pairs) and triads (threes) is a useful method to allow students to review. The teacher should allow the students to share several times throughout the lesson. Students will be more inclined to tell a peer if they do not understand than to make an announcement for the whole class. These quick, small groupings will give the students the opportunity to develop questions which they might not ordinarily ask.

Dyads and triads are also positive and fruitful to start a lesson. Students can be asked to review the most important points of the previous lesson. This can be done either with or without their notes. The more habitual the review procedure within the context of the lesson, the more responsive students will be to utilizing previously covered material.

a. Organizers

Many of our students are unable to organize the material we present in the classroom. In an active classroom, so many things are happening concurrently and students often cannot discern between the important and the trivial. Organizers are useful because they help the student differentiate among the many issues discussed in the classroom. Organizers are useful for students because they are primarily visual. Our students, products of television, videos and movies, are primarily visual. Charts and graphs, as well as cartoons and line drawings are found throughout the guide. The following organizers can be created for the students:

- Grouping and labeling organizers
- Generic organizer using titles and topics
- Flowchart organizer
- Acronym organizer
- Visual organizers: trees, flower garden, maps, rivers of thought, etc.

The teacher may find it necessary to periodically stop to check the students' learning by helping the students organize the material. These organizers should be left on display in the classroom as the students work through the unit. It is a visual record of what has been covered and allows the students to "see" the work they have accomplished. Students should be encouraged to develop their own organizers after models have been introduced to the class.

E. Involvement Strategies

a. Cooperative Learning

All current educational research tells that students learn more, learn better and remember more if they are involved in the learning process. Cooperative learning can be as simple as all the groups reading the same material and responding to questions in their groups, to a "jigsaw" technique where different groups read different materials related to the topic and either respond to the same questions or different questions. In either case, the students are responsible for their own learning.

A "How-to" for teachers follows. It is suggested that the teacher introduce the procedures and techniques of cooperative learning independent of the first cooperative learning lesson. This will allow the students time to review what is expected and resolve procedural issues prior to the lesson.

A "How-To" for Cooperative Learning

- Heterogeneous, not homogenous, grouping is desirable. Try to compose groups with both weak and strong students. When you are beginning cooperative learning, it is suggested that the groups remain permanent until students become more familiar with the mechanics of the strategy. Once cooperative learning becomes a part of the classroom routine, the teacher can rearrange the groups and assemble new groups. Students should be grouped as randomly as possible. Grouping techniques include:

  (a) drawing the same number, symbol, color etc., from a bowl, bag or desk
  (b) "counting-off" students (1-2-3-4; 1-2-3-4)
  (c) distributing written assignments to students and grouping them by assignment

- Make sure that each group has a carefully structured task which will result in a product. Groups may have different readings and the same assignments; they may have the same reading and different assignments. The combinations are determined by the teacher who engineers the lesson.

- The group may or may not select a leader, depending upon the nature of the assignment, the instructions of the teacher and the needs of the group. However, all members of the group must be encouraged to read aloud and participate in the activity. This participation may not occur when groups are first selected. Be patient -- peer pressure will bring the recalcitrant student into the group.

- The individual is to be held accountable within the group by members of the group. But there should be group rewards so that everyone in the group "wins" and there are no "losers."

- As the students will be working toward mutual goals, individual as well as interpersonal skills are stressed. Students should be encouraged to join their group and start work promptly. Groups should assemble as they enter the room and get "on task" immediately.

- Students in the group should be encouraged to share resources, materials and ideas -- discussing vocabulary questions, concepts or comprehension. Discussion should be encouraged among the group members and the teacher should learn to live in a classroom where there is some noise.

- Try to create some competition among the groups. Although cooperation is stressed, there is value in competition. Team competition can win bonus points and assist students in grade improvement.

- The teacher serves as a facilitator, a resource and an observer. The teacher may join in a group for a short period of time and may assist the students in their various roles. It is advised that the teacher set limits so that the task assigned can be achieved by all.

- Closure activities can involve all members of the group as members are called upon to justify their answers, support their evidence and identify the attributes which led to the group decision. Even students with reading disabilities will be able to take part in the discussion.

- Cooperative learning lessons require organizational effort by the teacher. Readings must be carefully selected for high interest, relevance to topic and readability. Questions must be carefully delineated and the task clearly defined. Preparation will lead to a memorable learning experience for students.

Cooperative learning lessons can create busy and often noisy classrooms. The teacher must learn to exist in a situation which sometimes may appear chaotic. However, the students can emerge from these situations with outstanding insights. It is important for the teacher to create classrooms which are "risk-free" for their students. In participatory classrooms students feel less inhibited and more in control of their learning process.

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Teacher's Guide to Student Readings: Insights and Strategies

This section of the "Teacher's Guide" provides background information for the teacher that will allow you to contextualize the individual readings for your students. We hope these insights might assist you in best integrating these readings into your current program. We do not want, nor do we believe it is possible, to dictate how and why you should use these source materials. Those decisions must be made by the teacher based upon their understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of their students, collectively and individually, and in light of curricular objectives. We recognize that the usefulness of these readings will depend, in large part, on your ability to facilitate the student's response to them. We hope that these insights will assist you in making the most advantageous use of these readings.

Of course, as we made the selections there were certain readings which triggered specific teaching strategies to us and wherever possible, we have shared these with you. We note, however, that these are only suggestions. Further, we would welcome comments and suggestions from you as you familiarize yourself with the materials and attempt different techniques in your individual classrooms.

<IIDEA> **This icon will appear throughout this section of the "Teacher's Guide" and signifies a suggested teaching strategy for a particular reading or group of readings.**

The Medieval Period

Let us say at the outset, that although this section commences with readings concerning the Crusader period, it is our intent in this section to provide teachers with material that will allow you to get "beyond" the Crusades, both in theory and in content, when addressing yourselves to the medieval period. We recognize that teachers still need to teach "the Crusades," so we have compiled readings which allow you to present as broad and balanced a view of these events as possible. It is not possible to improve upon Professor Jill Claster's summary of the diversity of issues which need to be addressed when discussing the Crusades with your students. We encourage you to read her essay at the beginning of this guide as preparation for this section. This section also presents readings which assist those teachers so inclined to present this period in broader terms, seeing the Crusades in worldwide perspective rather than the narrow European/Middle East perspective. Our readings support a broader view (although we recognize that it is not the only possible view) encompassing Africa, the Indian Ocean trading zone, and those parts of Europe and the Middle East that ignored the Crusades.

The first four readings in this section introduce the complexities involved in understanding the Crusader movement from the European/Christian perspective. There was an economic motive related both to trade that already existed between European city states and the Middle East, as evidenced by the reading on **The Origins of the Hospital**, and to economic pressures existing within Europe itself, as evidenced in **The Speech of Urban II at the Council of Clermont**. The religious motives of Urban II and other church leaders, and the Christian vs. Muslim dichotomy to which those have contributed, can all too easily become the overriding focus of any discussion of this period. We hope that a comparative reading of **Wm of Tyre on the Crusades** and **Anna Comnena on the Crusade** will assist the students in reaching a different view of the unanimity of Christianity in this endeavor.

However, like most primary sources, these points do not reach out and hit your students over the head. Reaching conclusions concerning the economic subtexts will require sensitive reading of the documents. The value in these readings is that they can be read both for form and content. Any teacher planning a lesson in the techniques of rhetoric could make beneficial use of Urban II's speech. Students would do well to use these readings to identify as many different interested parties as possible. If they can move beyond Christians and Muslims (to Christians in the Latin West and those Orthodox Christians coming from the Byzantine East, and differentiating the Seljuk Turks, Persians, and Arabs as Muslims) they have taken an important step.

The readings concerned with the fall of Jerusalem are intended to allow students to see how point of view can skew historical documents. If students were allowed to read only one of these three sources they would have an incomplete picture. There is a very worthwhile discussion to be had here concerning the relative value of historical sources -- the chronicle of a Christian chaplain who travelled with the Crusaders and more than likely urged them on with spiritual support, the chronicle of an Arab historian who was paid and patronized by the same Muslim leaders who had been vanquished by the Crusader armies, and a Jewish pilgrim/merchant who only wanted to complete his trip to Jerusalem and was lamenting his situation to his family back home. As it is students ought to know that even with these three sources referring to the same basic events it is difficult to propose positive historical fact beyond a statement that the Franks took Jerusalem in July, 1099 (it may be worth pointing out that this was a fairly lengthy period of time after Urban II's call to arms. Let them ponder the logistics of a conquering army, such as the one described by Anna Comnena, being provisioned and maintained over that lengthy period of time. Let them suggest how that might have occurred and then discuss whether there were not economic opportunities involved).

It is important to note that all Crusaders were referred to as the Franks (as you'll notice in both Anna Comnena and the Islamic sources), but, of course, they were not all French in the sense that your students might think.

Students may become confused by the comments of the Jewish letter writer which seem so relatively complementary of the Islamic Sultan from Egypt in comparison to the marauding Christian armies. It is no surprise to know that many of our students believe, because of the modern conflict between Jews and Muslims, that Muslims and Jews have always been at odds. Throughout this volume you will have the opportunity to describe the symbiotic relationship that existed in the cultural milieu of the Islamic medieval period.

<IDEA> **Review with the students why Jerusalem is an important center of worship and sanctity for all three Semitic monotheistic religions. Have groups of students make presentations from the perspective of one of the three religions including points such as when the city became central to the religion and why, what crucial events occurred there, and what are the structures that are relevant to the adherents of the respective faiths. End the presentations with a discussion of how a mundane, worldly, concrete city can become an abstraction of a critical crossroad for these three world religions.**

Important terms/locations to remember: Solomon's Temple, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Dome of the Rock.

The next five readings in the student's text provide an opportunity for the students to recognize that these Crusaders did not march in, conquer Jerusalem, and return home (this was no Operation Desert

Storm!!). The Crusader movement lasted generations, indeed, centuries!! Students must recognize that the Crusader kingdoms existed within the Middle East as permanent settlements (we might remind them that it could be argued that this was one of Pope Urban II's hopes based upon his speech), with all the economic, social and cultural interchange such a situation implies. These pieces from Usama ibn Munqidh are not written as critical or tendentious pieces. They are the equivalents of the type of social observations characterized by certain journalistic columnists in the twentieth century. They clearly reflect the level of cultural assimilation, accommodation and confrontation resulting from the Franks "moving in." The style is very simple, approachable, even humorous at times. Because the style is so conversational it is easy to accept Usama at his word, but students must be warned to question whether it is acceptable to make any generalizations based upon these stories.

Saladin's Summons to His People is a reading which reminds us that there is a historical progression, of sorts, to this compilation of readings. Jerusalem is, after all, retaken by the Muslims. So much the better to remind students of this fact, not through some dry textbook rendering, but through a similar reading to that of Urban II's call to the Christian Crusaders.

<IDEA> **These two readings would be usefully compared by students. What are the arguments used by the two leaders to persuade their brethren to heed their call? How do they "objectify" the enemy to spur some action on the part of their countrymen? What specific phrases can students identify that place these speeches within a specific historical context and give a clue to some historical condition to which the speaker must respond?**

The text describing **Saladin's Character**, while a nice panegyric piece and a worthy example of a specific style of literature (if a teacher would like to use it as such), is a wonderful means to teaching the five pillars of Islam without simply listing them. This reading also broadens the understanding of the five pillars. It allows students to see that each of the five pillars was subject to conditions, definition, and interpretation. For instance, a sensitive reader might wonder about the meaning of the third paragraph in which the writer says that Saladin did not leave enough of an estate to be subject to a legal tithe or alms-giving. In Islamic practice, depending upon era, region, and legal interpretation, an individual's estate would be subject to ***zakat***, a charitable contribution toward the needs of society (one might ask to whom was the contribution paid and how were the funds then managed and disbursed - questions worthy of a number of doctoral dissertations). A large tithe on an individual's estate at the time of death was one way of discouraging the hoarding of wealth, and encouraging investment in many ventures.

While the crusading went on in the Eastern Mediterranean these **Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders** demonstrate how life moved on in other parts of the medieval world. The trade moved from Spain, Italian city states and Sicily, across the sea to Tunisia and Egypt, down the Red Sea to Aden and other southern Arabian seaports, and eventually onto India, only to reverse itself. Indeed, the trade on this route may have been assisted by the crusades to the extent that they interrupted successful trade generated through an overland route from the Persian Gulf area through either Syria or Anatolia. These letters give the teachers an opportunity to discuss the Geniza documents more fully. Many students will be familiar with the concept of a time capsule, a collection of artifacts from a very specific period of time left in a secluded and protected structure for posterity. Imagine such a time capsule representing centuries and generations of social and economic history for a community that spanned the entire medieval world of both the Mediterranean economic zone and the Indian Ocean. This is the value of the Geniza documents to historians. These three letters are but a very small part of the wide array of information available and they present such a vivid

picture for the student. The entreaties and solicitous salutations between father and son; the detailed discussion of trading; and the commentary on the events of the world around them are invaluable checks against the official chronicles and histories written by those intellectuals and scholars specifically attached to a political leader, religious guide or other functionary who had a specific purpose in patronizing particular renditions of history.

While the letters of the Jewish traders refer to economic transactions crisscrossing the Muslim Middle East from this period, without regard to the military campaigns, the text on **Crusader Castles** is a latter day fundraising appeal seeking economic investment in a venture directly related to the military campaigns. The point, of course, is that while the crusaders were marauding and conquering on one level, someone was engaged in providing for the mundane needs of these troops at another level. What a much more complex and detailed picture this provides for our students. This letter is a translation of an appeal from a Catholic bishop writing from the Middle East seeking funding to support the castle Saphet. He provides detailed descriptions of both the needs of the castle for its daily operation, and its useful purpose in the mutual goals of containing the efforts of the Turkish Sultan and spreading the Christian message amongst the people of the area.

<IDEA> **This example provides an opportunity to help students understand the far reaching influence and importance of social institutions. As they read the bishop's appeal letter they may gain a sense of a domino effect on a local economy caused by the needs of this large institution. They must also understand the connection between funding the institution (thus the call for fundraising) and the production from the local economy. An exercise to produce a similar result, although far removed from crusader castles, would be an assignment to produce as detailed a description of the various needs of a school which houses, feeds, and educates 1,800 students and 200 staff each day. The students would have to include a request for funding and a description of those who would receive the request and the benefits derived from funding this social institution.**

Many students are familiar with **The Travels of Marco Polo** and this text is presented as alternative for adding the Muslim Middle East to a section of the curriculum where it may not currently exist. Discussing Marco Polo and traveller's literature frequently occurs as part of European history or Europe's contacts with China. These readings give the teacher the option to include the Muslim Middle East in a section of your curriculum where it may not traditionally exist. The specific section on Aden is important because the Pre-Colonial period in the Student Reader includes a number of Portuguese travellers' descriptions of the same region. This provides an opportunity to conduct comparative analysis across time. Finally, the Marco Polo readings may be used in conjunction with the Jewish travellers and the readings from Islam and Africa to portray a thriving global trade with the Muslim Middle East as the crossroads for the numerous traders. This is a much more complete picture than the bipolar world of Christian vs. Muslim crusading movements.

The readings on **Islam and Africa** are important so that students will understand that Islam was an important force within Africa at this time. Islam came to Africa very early, having reached Egypt shortly after the death of the Prophet. Within a hundred years after the death of the Prophet, during the Umayyad Caliphate, Islam had spread across North Africa and south from Egypt to the Sudan. Of course, during the time of the Prophet, Islamic tradition states that Muslims seeking refuge from Meccan persecution travelled to Abyssinia; so, an argument could be made that Islam came to Africa from the very earliest period of

Islamic history. By the medieval period which is the focus of this section of our book, Islam was thriving not just in North Africa but in East and West Africa as well. The Kingdom of Mali, as evidenced by the readings here, was certainly the economic equal of any in the Islamic world of the time. The first reading from al-Omari, for those teachers so inclined to discuss these type of economic issues, offers a wonderful example of currency exchange values. Ibn Battutah's description of Mali ought to make it clear to students that there is no unique experience or quintessential expression of Islam. While the Africans may have believed themselves to be perfectly good Muslims, Ibn Battutah has a completely different opinion (particularly regarding the custom of veiling, or lack thereof). Of course, because Islam has no clerical hierarchy acting as the arbiter of proper Islamic practice, religious expression of the faith is very much regionally and culturally defined.

Finally, there are the two readings which describe the areas of Africa which are incorporated in the broad regional economy of the Indian Ocean. These are important because too often trade maps from this period neglect to include sub-Saharan Africa in the picture of the massive worldwide trade. It may not have been a specific part of the trade with Europe at this time but it was definitely integrated in the economy between southern Arabia, India, Southeast Asia and Oceania.

The Pre-Colonial Period

This period is loosely defined as commencing with the late fourteenth century and concluding with the late seventeenth century. As mentioned in the preface, students will be encouraged to think across both space and time, so, for instance, Timur Khan (d. 1405 AD), becomes a personage of great interest to a sixteenth century playwright. Thus, students will read two accounts spanning a period of one hundred years concerning the same person, learning more about the writers themselves than about Timur. Thus, we continue with our effort to flesh out those narrow points concerning the Muslim Middle East which may already be a part of the teacher's program, and we seek to enhance the teaching of the multiplicity of issues which encompass study of this complex region.

The first three readings are traveller accounts, both Muslims travelling from the Middle East and non-Muslims travelling through the Middle East. The first two readings, **The Book of Duarte Barbosa** and **The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires**, both from Portuguese travellers, reflect the ethnocentrism of the European community as it became a part of the maritime community. The writers were contemporaries from the early sixteenth century and were part of Portugal's efforts to expand its influence and trade (you may note in so many of these readings that it always seems to be about trade) into Asia, cutting out the middle man, the merchants from the Middle East, whether Jews or Muslims from Egypt, the Ottoman region or the Safavids from Persia. Duarte Barbosa's account of Suez clearly states the Portuguese intent to wrest control of the Indian Ocean trade from the Moors (you will note that the Portuguese refer to Muslims as Moors due to their association with Muslims from al-Andalus, commonly referred to as Moors, as in Moorish Spain). A note to his account (which does not appear in the student guide) describes how in the Spanish translation of his records the entire description of Suez is rendered in the imperfect tense so that it does not appear that the Portuguese were successful in destroying the Red Sea trade route.

Both Barbosa and Pires are very interested in the natural protection provided by the port at Aden, although the same is not necessarily true of Marco Polo's description of the same port. Obviously, Marco Polo does not reflect an aggressive posture. Venice at the time of his travels had its hands full trying to compete with Genoa, Sicily, Byzantium, and others for the trade in the Mediterranean. These readings taken

together can demonstrate the change that has taken place in Europe and its position relative to the Islamic lands and the trade routes which pass through them.

<IDEA> **A useful activity for students would be to work in groups to create trade charts for each of the three authors discussing the trade that passes through Aden. List each item with its place of origin and destination. Is there a great difference between the three author's accounts? To what might the difference be attributed? Is there a pattern to the trade in terms of the direction of manufactured goods or luxury items? Is the trade based upon barter or is there specie and what is its nature and value? Have the students use a map of the Eastern Hemisphere and draw rudimentary trade routes with product symbols corresponding to the various items traded (include the readings from Barbosa and Ibn Battutah on the Maldives for the drawing of the maps).**

The readings of Barbosa and Ibn Battutah on the Maldive Islands present similar opportunities for comparative readings. Obviously, Ibn Battutah, as an Islamic judge, was concerned with the Islamic practices of the locals. It would be interesting to see, if the teacher could give these readings to the students without any introduction whatsoever concerning the writers whether they could discern certain characteristics about them from the readings themselves. Ibn Battutah's reading presents opportunities for discussion of the technology from this period. Teachers so inclined could discuss the relative merits of certain shipbuilding practices and whether they were a relative hindrance or help. Further, those teachers who enjoy detailed discussions of economic practices have a wonderful description of exchange rates between cowrie shells and gold dinars. Finally, is it possible to include the description of the women who were hired out as servants from one home to another in a discussion of slavery. Does this practice constitute the practice of slavery?

<IDEA> **Have students respond to the role of women described by Ibn Battutah. Between the temporary marriages to sailors, the servant women who became indebted to new owners of their employment, and the fact that the ruler was a woman, there was a very complex set of circumstances at play. Teachers can relate this seeming contradiction to a similar situation in today's world with both Pakistan and Bangladesh. Both countries are noted for the impoverished state of women, lack of educational opportunities, restrictive social structures; and yet they are both led by Muslim women prime ministers.**

There are many opportunities within this student reader for interdisciplinary approaches to certain topics. The next group of readings is one. English teachers who are required to teach Elizabethan drama might involve themselves with this section on Timur Khan and Bayezid. There are three different types of readings presented here: an Elizabethan drama, an anonymous Greek chronicle (written in Greek, although not necessarily by an anti-Ottoman Greek partisan, whom might be expected to present a fairly skewed view of any Ottoman figure), and an account from one of the greatest historians of all time, Ibn Khaldun. The English teacher would be of great assistance in helping students understand Christopher Marlowe's use of language and literary structure to present a historic figure who was larger than life itself, who refers to himself in Marlowe's work as "the scourge of God." Imagine how late sixteenth century England perceived Timur as a result of this drama (not unlike one of our modern docu-dramas) and compare that picture to the

one painted by Ibn Khaldun in his **Conversations with Tamerlane**. Finally, add the picture created by the last account of Timur's relations with Bayezid in the Ottoman campaigns. The most fascinating part of this last text is not so much the description of Timur as the description of his rival, Bayezid.

<IDEA> **Using these three sources students, individually or as groups, may summarize the salient points in the descriptions (direct or oblique as they may be) of Timur. Students should also attempt to ascertain why the writer chose to describe him in this particular fashion (for instance, why does the scourge of God in Marlowe need to have a love interest in Zenocrate?). It is not likely that they will come to a conclusion about the "real Tamerlane" from this exercise, but that is not the point. Students may have an opportunity to reach some conclusions regarding the relative value of source materials.**

One of the areas in which we have sought to provide new materials for the classroom falls under the heading of economic crossroads. In each of the periods we highlight, we have included material which speaks to the economic connections between the Muslim Middle East and the remainder of its world. These economic connections create political and cultural domino effects and the teacher can guide the student in understanding the nuances of these interconnections.

While the Portuguese were closing off trade for the Ottomans and Mamluks through the Red Sea, the Ottomans were soliciting bi-lateral agreements with France related to the terms of their trade. Less than a century later, not wishing to be left out of the "new world order" and the global trading networks, Shah Abbas of the Safavid Persian state concludes his agreement with an influential Englishman at the Safavid court granting Europe great latitude in their dealings with the Persian state, hoping to gain influence with the European powers as a buffer to the aggressor Ottoman state.

<IDEA> **How interesting to note for the students that despite the Crusades here is a Muslim state seeking economic ties with the Christian West, hoping for a political alliance against its fellow Muslim country. This ought to make it very clear that Islam and Muslims are not, nor have they ever been, a single minded monolithic force**. Without regard to either Ottoman or Safavid influence, the **Letters from Barbary** demonstrate that the political entities from North Africa had their own bi-lateral relationship with European powers (in this case England), based upon trading needs.

For their part, the Ottomans, while negotiating at all times with France, were very concerned with allowing any strategic product to fall into the clutches of any one of the countries from **Dar al-harb** (the lands which were not under Islamic rule - not necessarily non-Islamic lands. For instance, Dubrovnik, the subject of this piece was primarily Christian, but they were under the Ottoman domain and paid a tribute to the Ottoman Sultan). The **Turco-Ragusan Relationship** reading clearly describes how carefully the Ottomans monitored grain (as well as a number of other "strategic" goods) production and export. They even speak of embargoes against the European powers - much as embargoes act as a weapon of foreign policy in the modern world (with similar results, honored mainly in the breach). The analysis of the **Turco-Ragusan Relationship** is based upon ***firmans*** issued by the Ottoman high court (which you will find referred to as the Sublime Porte, the Gate of Felicity, referring to the Grand Vizierate, known in Turkish as ***Bab-i `Ali***, the high gate), which are royal decrees issued in response to formal requests received from subjects of the Ottoman Sultan (the requests were known as ***arz-i hal***). The Sultan's or Grand Vizier's response was almost always addressed to provincial officials such as sancakbeys, qadis, muftis, and/or inspectors. The documents

themselves, reprinted in the student reader, are full of these strange terms. If teachers can help the students beyond the terminology, the decrees are very interesting in their presentation of the minutia of information that passed through the Sultan's review.

The final piece in this section on world trade is the report of **Hajji Khalifah** about coffee and tobacco. Both these products become introduced to the Ottoman center in the seventeenth century as a result of trading interests. In this highly readable account, students will find echoes of their own world from the debates over tobacco use. Of particular usefulness to the teacher is the method of analyzing the problem employed by Hajji Khalifah. This is a legal analysis, of sorts, reflective of the steps taken by a legal scholar in making a particular decision. Terminology such as "innovation," "abominable," and "canonically forbidden or indifferent" are legal terms measuring degrees of concurrence within Islamic law.

<IDEA> **This piece would be well used in conjunction with a reading from the first volume of the Muslim Middle East in which the writer discusses the sources of Islamic law. Teachers and students can review the sources of law and then see its practical application in Hajji Khalifah's text.**

The readings in the section on diplomacy are richly interwoven and most reflective of the layers of intrigue within the Ottoman hierarchy. **The Report of Lello**, from the journal of the English ambassador Henry Lello, presents an outsider's view of the court, the office of the Grand Vizier, and the influence of the Sultan's mother over events and appointments. This report is best read in conjunction with the discussion of **The Imperial Harem** and the **Autobiography of Esther Kyra Handeli 1600**. We have presented here, once again, multi-layered accounts of the same time and place and it is always useful for students to use such competing presentations to learn about point-of-view. These three readings present such a wonderfully interesting picture of the power and influence of the women in the Ottoman court that it ought to dispel any notion of women being relegated to positions of irrelevance in the Harem.

<IDEA> **Teachers might like to introduce these readings by exploring students' preconceived notions and misperceptions of the Harem and women's roles within Islam. Listing some of the misperceptions and then using these readings to contradict the faulty assumptions would be an effective teaching strategy.**

Writing from a slightly earlier period than Lello, **The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq** are from another diplomat serving in Constantinople. These comments demonstrate the concern and consternation caused by the Turkish forces. This is while the Ottoman empire was still a growing entity that pretty much had its way within Europe. Teachers would do well to compare this reading with that of the Earl of Cromer from the Colonial period to demonstrate to their students the difference that power can make in the analysis of a particular situation. Busbecq is positively awed by the Turks. He is nothing but highly complementary of their character and their methods. Under the subject of technology, teachers will want to highlight his discussion of the merits of the camel and rice in preparing for military engagements.

The final pieces in the Pre-Colonial period, **The Autobiographies of Jews in the Ottoman Empire**, are important to this theme of crossroads as they derive from a subject not normally associated with the Muslim Middle East, the discovery of America. We have stated throughout this guide that we will encourage teachers to place events within a broader context and that we will assist you by providing relevant readings. At some point in a student's career the subjects of the Holy Inquisition and Columbus' discovery of America will be taught. This section on the pre-colonial period began with the Portuguese search for new trade routes,

as did Columbus' voyage. Student's need to know that his voyage was financed through confiscation of wealth from Muslims and Jews who were being expelled from Andalusia as a result of the Inquisition. The Ottoman Empire absorbed these refugees, and as these three biographies attest, the Jews thrived under Ottoman rule. Rather than being intolerant of Jews (as modern events might suggest) the Muslim rulers and society were significantly more tolerant than Christian Europe. The broader approach to this period, attempting to see how an event in one part of the pre-Colonial world was connected to another, provides our students with a much more realistic picture and will help them better analyze current events.

The Colonial Period

We begin the colonial period with Napoleon's invasion of Egypt and to set this within the proper context the students may read the **Decree of the French Directory to Napoleon** which demonstrates that the French invasion is related to France's broader political concerns with England. Teachers might wish to relate the invasion of Egypt to the worldwide colonial issues between France and England so that students do not see this event in isolation from other circumstances.

Napoleon's Proclamation to the Egyptians should be read with **al-Jabarti** as they both have a rendition of the proclamation. The first is an English translation of the original French and the piece from al-Jabarti's chronicle includes an English translation of the Arabic translation of the French. This will provide a wonderful opportunity for students to see the problems associated with reading primary source material in translation. Students may make a comparison of the two translations to determine if there are differences of substance. The al-Jabarti reading also includes his response to Napoleon's proclamation. It ought to be evident to the students that there is great irony in Napoleon declaring himself the protector of Islam.

<IDEA> **Teachers may ask students to compare Napoleon's Proclamation to Urban II's speech calling for the Crusade. What are the historical circumstances that have changed the French from the avengers of Christianity to the protectors of Islam? Is this change related to the trading relationship between the Ottomans and French which was highlighted in the precolonial section?**

Teachers have asked us to help them better integrate the Middle East into American history, particularly prior to the twentieth century. The following three readings attempt to do just that. Many of your students will be familiar with the U.S. Marines anthem and the first line, "From the halls of Montezuma, to the shores of Tripoli." Very few of them will recognize the source for this reference to Tripoli (if they recognize the connection to Libya at all they are likely to think it is somehow related to Muammar Qadhafi) in the facts they have learned about the Barbary pirates. We have included the **Treaty of Peace and Amity between the U.S. and the Garrison of Algiers** to assist the teacher in highlighting the relationship between the nascent democracy in the Americas and the North African Islamic states. We would also encourage the teachers to read the teacher reading, "The Crescent Obscured," in the final section of this guide which discusses U.S. relations with the Muslim world during early American history.

<IDEA> **Making use of either this treaty or one of the others reproduced in the Student Reader, have the teacher (or a group of students) create a fictitious set of circumstances which would require application of the terms of the treaty. For instance, an American naval vessel could come to the aid**

of a sinking Algerine merchant vessel, saving the crew and its cargo. However, the cargo could include goods known to have been purloined from another U.S. merchant vessel, and the crew may include American slaves (and perhaps even Americans who were formerly slaves but converted to Islam and were manumitted). Use the treaty to determine the disposition of the crew and cargo.

Another natural extension of topics from American history that would encompass the Muslim Middle East is in the area of slavery. At the end of the eighteenth century slavery was a hot political and moral topic both because of the difference of opinion between the North and South on this question and because American sailors were being enslaved by the Barbary states. In both readings from this period, **The Algerine Captive** and **Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim**, Muslim enslavement of Christian Americans is held up as a mirror for slave owning Americans. The former is a novel in which the protagonist is a scion from a well-to-do New England family who signs on as a ship's doctor in an American trading vessel. This vessel becomes involved in the slave trade creating a dilemma for the protagonist who rationalizes the problem away until the second part of the book when the ship wrecks on the coast of Africa and he becomes a slave to an Algerine notable. In our selection from the book, the protagonist is engaged in a dialogue with a manumitted slave who has studied and become an Islamic scholar. They discuss the relative merits of their respective religions and the doctor is horrified to come face to face with the reality of slavery in the American/Christian context. The latter reading is actually from Benjamin Franklin writing under the pseudonym "Historicus." His essay is in response to a southern Congressman's tirade against the Philadelphia Abolition Society and the Quakers, who had called for an end to slavery and manumission of all American slaves. Franklin uses each of the Christian Southerner's arguments in the mouth of an Islamic leader in Algeria defending the practice of enslaving Americans and Europeans.

We have included materials which describe the perceptions held by colonialists of the colonized peoples and vice-versa. Perhaps it would be best if students began this section by reading the **Earl of Cromer**. This reading is a reflection of "Orientalist" racism in constructing analyses of the subjected societies which, in some way, allowed the imperialist administrators to justify their organization and management of the colonized nations. Cromer's characterization of Egyptian people will, no doubt, raise the hackles of many of your students. In this era of multicultural sensitivity students ought not need any help picking out the most objectionable passages, however, teachers might highlight Cromer's description of "half-breed" when referring to an Egyptian and "pure-blood" when referring to Europeans. Students might be asked to compare Cromer's description of Islamic attitudes toward slavery and those from the previous few readings.

Both **Muhammad as-Saffar** and **Rif a Rafi' al-Tahtawi** present complicated perceptions of Europe and the West. On the one hand as-Saffar describes the technological wonders of Europe with childish enthusiasm. It sounds like he simply cannot get enough of French theater. Similarly, al-Tahtawi finds it necessary to explain his intellectual preparation (preparation for what??) in terms of the European scholars he has read and mastered, rather than the Islamic scholars that formed his intellect (and it is certain that he was well educated in Islamic sciences prior to seeking knowledge in Europe). However, both readings, if read carefully, reflect certain negative views of what they witness and experience in Europe. For instance, as-Saffar is not at all comfortable with the fact that the French library has custody of such a beautiful Qur'an. Nor is he impressed with the artwork that depicts the military victories in Islamic lands (thus he adduces the story about the lion). Finally, the teacher may want to take a minute to highlight for the students the seemingly anomalous insertion of the *hadith* text by as-Saffar. This is hardly anomalous within Islamic tradition. The *hadith* is a story or saying attributable to the Prophet Muhammad which can lend legitimacy, authenticity, authority or justification depending upon its use in a text. In this instance, then, it must be

acceptable for the French, and as-Saffar, to enjoy themselves at the theater, as the Prophet had a sense of humor.

The final reading in this section on perceptions, **`Abd-Allah al Baraduni's "From Exile to Exile"**, is perhaps unfairly included in the section on the colonial period as it was written well into the twentieth century. However, it reflects the sensibilities of the helplessness of the colonialized people, which is a perception which probably receives too little notice.

During the Colonial period the West became enamored with the "Oriental" mystique and this romanticized view is reflected in their literature, art, architecture, design, fashion and even food. There are many examples of this appropriation of cultural artifacts but we have tried to limit our presentation to those which serve dual purposes in our presentation. In **Displaying the Orient**, a secondary source document, the author describes the objectification of Middle Eastern cultures for display purposes at the various World's Fairs at the end of the eighteenth century. The reading is at a higher level of difficulty from our other readings but students should be able to understand the author's argument that these Fairs created a very narrow, sterile, and static view of the cultures on display. Particularly objective is the taxonomical approach to organizing the cultural exhibitions.

<IDEA> **Discuss with students the cultural displays in Disney's Epcot Center International Pavilion. A different type of constructed cultural historical display might be one of the travelling exhibits created for Saudi Arabia or Turkey by a well paid staff of publicists. Ask the students if any of these are fair representations of the subject cultures. More to the point, ask the students if it is possible to "represent" a culture? Tell them they have been chosen to curate an exhibition of American culture, give them parameters in terms of space, time for the audience to view the exhibition, mobility of the exhibition, etc., and ask them how they would create such a display?**

The **"Acres of Diamonds"** essay should be read with **"The Dream"** as it is an example of cultural borrowing. The former is from a speech delivered approximately six thousand times throughout America in the late nineteenth century by Russell Conwell, a well-known Baptist minister of that time (the Billy Graham of his day). The speech developed the theme of the virtues of profiting from one's work and how that was best done. For Reverend Conwell, that was best done by speaking as he collected significant speaker fees that allowed him to contribute to the founding of Temple University in Philadelphia. When students read the latter document, they should see that the basic story is borrowed from "the Dream," which is from Alf Layla wa Layla (One thousand and one Nights).

<IDEA> **In an interdisciplinary session between English and social Studies teachers, discuss the use of folktales, how they are transmitted? Why they are transmitted from culture to culture?**

Regarding the **Ruba'iyaat of Omar Khayyam**, students should know that this was not a particularly well-known or well-liked poem or poet in the Middle East prior to its translation into English. After Fitzgerald's translation in the nineteenth century and its subsequent translation into French, it had taken Europe by storm. There were Khayyam societies formed in which members sat and read quatrains while smoking their water pipes. This eventually fed back to the Middle East and poets there saw commercial opportunities to exploit the European interest in this type of "low-brow" poetry. It is published here also because it is the central symbol in a cross-cultural novel, Samarkand by Amin Maalouf, which is highlighted in the next section and a portion is included in the teachers' readings section of this guide.

The Modern Period

It is in this section that teachers have the greatest opportunity for interdisciplinary instruction and it is also the section which has the most for Language Arts teachers.

The first five readings ask students to consider how cultures observe each other. These are fairly simple, self explanatory readings which generate complex questions that strike at the heart of the issues with which we contend daily as educators. In **American Magic in a Small Town** and **Rai and Franco-Maghrebi Identities** issues of identity across cultures are raised. This echoes the theme of our first volume in this series, but it is worth revisiting here because it is a cross cultural series of questions. How do the individuals in these articles define themselves versus the way in which the authors define them? Hannah Davis sees an American cultural symbol in a can of"Coca-Cola" but the mayor of Sidi slimane does not. Who is correct? In the latter article on identities, one cannot help but wonder, particularly in the American context when one stops being an immigrant. Who makes this decision? Does the culture and society around you or does the individual make the decision for themself?

The two readings on tourism raise similar questions regarding the creation of "otherness." Whether we are tourists on a junket or tourists with a research agenda, these two articles make it clear that we contribute to the "subjects" creation of their own identities. Is it possible when touring a foreign land to stop being a tourist, to get the "real picture"? When we approach a situation in which we are tourists do are questions and our avenues of interests reflect more on the subjects observed and their identities or are they more a reflection of our own?

<IDEA> **Ask students to create two lists, one would be a list of those things which they would naturally want to show a tourist coming to their town/city, the other would be a list of those things in your community/environs which help to define their identity. Examine how the lists differ and discuss what this says about the purpose of tourism and our participation in it both as tourists and as those to whom tourists wish to be connected.**

Finally, under the category of "otherness" in an abstraction of this question of crossroads is the poem **"Tale of the Assyrian Statue" by Mahmoud al-Buraikan.** This poem is a very compelling piece which raises all these issues of how a subject perceives the observer. There is no reason why this particular poem needs to be limited by its inclusion in a Muslim Middle East guide. Its themes and subject are universal and it could be easily included in a collection of readings, from various traditions, which raise similar issues.

The following group of poems are intended to have students and teachers (particularly Language Arts teachers who have asked frequently for more Middle Eastern literature to give to their classrooms) become aware of Western cultural influences on Modern Arabic poetry. One of the initial influences was the free verse movement pioneered by Pound in the West, and introduced by al-Sayyab and Malai'ka in the Arab world. Arabic poetry had been limited by a very traditional double hemistich, monorhyme form for some time. These two Arab poets (the former a man, the latter a woman who also added to the success of free verse by writing critical analyses of its effect and value) were two of the first and two of the more successful. Similarly, the influence of T.S.Eliot cannot be underestimated. His use of the fertility and rebirth themes were particularly attractive to Arab poets who were experimenting with new forms of poetry, although they came from a lengthy and well-established poetic cultural tradition. This was occurring

simultaneously with the creation of Israel and the rebirth themes resonated well with the Arab community. Thus, we have included herein a portion of Eliot's **"Wasteland"** for students to experience an example of the style of work which influenced the likes of the great Arab poet, **`Ali Ahmad Sa'id** (more commonly known as Adonis, reflecting perhaps the God of fertility, a theme which plays quite loudly through so much of his poetry). We have included for Adonis, a portion of his **"Resurrection and Ashes"** in which the theme is quite evident as the poet invokes the Phoenix time and time again. We include the poem by Etel `Adnan because we felt that in the modern period Beirut has become a symbolic crossroads for much of the world's frustration with the problems confronting the Middle East.

As the colonial period presented readings associated with the confrontation between colonist and colonized, the modern period (or perhaps more appropriately the post-colonial period) must give voice to the philosophical crossroads between Western and Islamic (although we discourage teachers from suggesting that these are mutually exclusive terms and we certainly do not intend them in that way here) thinking on questions of governance, statehood, economic development, and culture. **Taha Hussein** was a scholarly giant in Egypt who had received some education in France as well. **Muhammad Nuwayhi** also crossed between the academic worlds of Egypt and Europe. Both scholars have challenging ideas concerning the future of their culture in the post Colonial world. **Tahtawi**'s analysis of modern economic thinking would be useful reading in an advanced class on Economics or in a discussion of economic development. Finally, **Muhtaharri**'s short essay provides the voice of a committed Shi'i Islamic reformer. He reflects the neither East nor West view of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

In each of the sections of our student reader we attempted to include readings which raised important economic issues so that teachers could provide the widest possible channels of analysis of historical events and circumstances. In the modern period there are many options available to us, but we elected to focus on one reading which highlighted the problem of labor migration, thus **Haddou: A Moroccan Migrant Worker**. We also felt that students would be reading about and discussing the impact of Petroleum products on the Middle Eastern economies. We have included a piece from **The Trench by Abdelrahman Munif**, a Saudi author who has written an entire trilogy on the changes to Saudi society and culture wrought by the influence of petrodollars. This piece discusses the transformation which occurs in a small oasis town which becomes absorbed in the orbit of the oil refineries in Eastern Saudi Arabia.

The final four readings provide examples of a symbol from an outsider culture being absorbed and remade by the receiving culture. In Driss Chraibi's **"Mother Comes of Age"** the symbol is a radio which must be absorbed into the very traditional Moroccan home.

<IDEA> **Teachers might like to use this story comparatively with Brian Friehl's (the Irish playwright) "Dancing at Lughnasa" in which the radio is a similar symbol of the creeping influence of modern sensibilities**. Holly Chase's **The *Meyhane* or McDonald's** explores the commercial and cultural competition between that quintessential American economic symbol, the Golden Arches, and a Turkish imitation or answer to American fast food. She asks a series of wonderful questions at the end of her short article, and one wonders what students would add to the list.

<IDEA> **Holly Chase does not give enough credit to the influence of advertising in McDonald's success. Teachers could ask students to design a culturally unique or significant food product from**

their own cultural background which could be sold as "fast food" and they must design the advertising program to make it successful.

Amin Maalouf's **Samarkand** is a rich and readable cross cultural tale which may or may not be too sophisticated for high school students. We will allow that the parties involved in this undertaking had lengthy discussions over whether it was appropriate for this age level. With a proper introduction and guidance from teachers it could be a valuable experience for any student.

Peter Chelkowski's discussion of the movement of the Moharram festival from its original home in Shi'i Persia, through Eastern India and into the West Indies is a simply fascinating tale of a powerful and elastic cultural experience.

Teacher's Readings

Islam: Stereotypes Still Prevail

(Rick Blassing: "Islam: Stereotypes Still Prevail," in *Social Education* 60(2), 1996, pp.107-110. Permission pending)

In the aftermath of the explosion that destroyed the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City in April, 1995, the false assumption was immediately made by many that international terrorism had struck America's heartland and that the terrorists in question were "Islamic fundamentalists." Reports circulated of suspects with "Middle Eastern accents." A number of individuals with Arab backgrounds were held for questioning. A Jordanian-born naturalized American on a flight from Chicago was detained in London.

Some in the Oklahoma state government spoke of the possible involvement of "fundamentalist Islamic terrorists." Secretary of State Warren Christopher informed the country that he had sent "Arabic interpreters" to Oklahoma City to aid in the investigation. Indeed, in the hours following this tragic event, many were making assumptions that Muslims were responsible. The Islamic community in the greater Oklahoma City area were immediately held suspect. Events in recent years, such as the World Trade Center bombing in February 1993, led many to assume Islamic involvement.

Muslims in central Oklahoma, many of whom were concentrated on two university campuses within a twenty mile radius of Oklahoma City, experienced immediate concern about speculation that the bombing involved them. The mistrust and fear of Islam that was induced by the bombing manifested itself in many ways. Muslim children were called names and harassed at school. Threatening phone calls were received by Muslims in the Oklahoma City region. One Muslim woman who was seven months pregnant, a Shiite Muslim refugee from Iraq, was terrorized when a rock was thrown through her living room window. The trauma of this event caused her to bleed uncontrollably and eventually deliver a stillborn boy.

More than two hundred incidents of nationwide attack or harassment of Muslims in this country followed the Oklahoma City bombing even though no evidence existed of any Muslim involvement. The effects of negative stereotyping on the Muslim community were evident. Certainly, the media reinforced image of the machine-gun-toting Muslim contributed to this backlash against Muslims in Oklahoma and throughout the country. That many in the United States apparently thought of Islam and terrorism as interconnected if not synonymous only exacerbated the climate.

The name "Islam" conjures up certain images reinforced through media stereotypes and through the violent actions of those who, claiming to follow Islamic teachings, confirm the worst fears and prejudices of the non-Muslim world. Existing stereotypes are deeply ingrained and consistently reinforced through books, movies, and even classroom texts.

♦ Public Perceptions of Islam

The reaction to the Oklahoma bombing made me recall an event that I had attended not long earlier. In December, 1994, I was invited to the Seventh International Sirah conference in Buena Park, California. Sponsored by the Islamic Society of Orange County, the Sirah Conference provided a forum for scholars and teachers from around the world to discuss issues related to Islam. Presenters discussed the life and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. Workshops examined issues related to youth, the family and the media. The Council on Islamic Education (CIE), a non-profit, California-based organization, facilitated a workshop on educational issues.

As an educator, I was invited to attend the Sirah Conference to meet with one of the conference presenters: Yusuf Islam. Yusuf Islam is a classic example of an individual who, having left the spotlight of public scrutiny and embraced Islam, is no longer portrayed as he used to be. For Yusuf Islam, once known worldwide in the 1970's as the musician "Cat Stevens," media acceptance

of his new direction has generally not been forthcoming. Cat Stevens, a British-born songsmith and poet, created a worldwide following in the 1970's with such songs as "Peacetrain," "Morning Has Broken," and "Moonshadow." With lilting lyrics and spiritual themes, Steven's songs gave indication of his personal search for truth. Cat Stevens embraced Islam in 1977, and soon afterward he left the music industry altogether. In 1983, Yusuf Islam started a small school for Muslim children in London.

Today, at the age of 48, Yusuf Islam is the headmaster of Islamia School. He is married, a father of five, and a devout Muslim. He also serves as the chair of Muslim Aid -- an organization that has assisted Muslims in need throughout the world, including such places as Bosnia-Herzogovina. Since becoming a Muslim, Yusuf Islam has experienced a significant amount of negative reaction from those who might one have been his admirers or fans. Indeed, his embrace of Islam has often been portrayed in the media as being bizarre or extreme. This singer's decision to quit the music industry to become an educator has not been given much respect, and its clear that his religion has a great deal to do with that.

In his remarks, Islam observed that the British government does not accept the Islamia School to the extent that it supports Christian parochial schools -- a reality that characterizes Muslim experience in education and society. He stated that the media like to define things in simplistic terms of "good" and "evil." "People are in that kind of mode of identifying something that they don't understand as being evil," he said. With respect to Bosnia, Yusuf Islam describes the hesitancy of European involvement as resulting from a sense of being threatened by free elections that resulted in an "Islamic minded government." He characterizes the ongoing tragedy in the former Yugoslavia as "unleashed echoes of past conflict, all coming out in this moment where Islam, through democracy, came to Europe." He posed the question, "How can you deny a people, if you believe in democracy, from accepting or choosing the party of their choice -- be it Islamic or be it democratic?"

Yusuf Islam has implored the West to accept different ideas and cultures as its source of strength -- not as a threat or challenge. "The most important thing," he says, is that if you keep the doors open, things flourish. If you shut the doors, things die and the culture will die.

Perception is, indeed, at the heart of the matter. Media perception of Yusuf Islam has generally been negative. In the same way, media perception of the Muslim world has been characterized as one dominated by gun-toting radicals and extreme fundamentalists. Textbooks used in most American schools have reinforced these stereotypes. Shabbir Mansuri, founding director of the Council on Islamic Education (CIE), related a particular experience that began what he refers to as his "American journey -- an ongoing effort to correct inaccurate stereotypes about Islam." Mansuri, a native of India who came to the United States in 1969, recalled how he found his daughter gigging over a chapter of her sixth-grade history text. She was reading a description of the Muslim method of prayer that included "rubbing their faces with sand." It was this and other factual errors that motivated Mansuri to form CIE. In the five years since its inception, CIE has worked actively to correct such errors in information contained in the textbooks used by the majority of public school students throughout the United States. Working with scholars, educators, and textbook manufacturers, Mansuri and CIE have made significant progress in exposing ethnocentric perspectives that are reinforced in textbooks.

In Kansas, where I live and teach, Muslims are exposed to the same forms of prejudice experienced by Muslims in other parts of the country. Muslims located in the greater plains regions feel a particular need to maintain a low profile. Some Muslim students at area colleges have experienced the pressure of prejudice against them. They quickly realized, for example, that publicly assuming the posture of bowing to the ground during worship, the "prayer" or salat done five times daily, resulted in sarcastic remarks and

public ridicule. They soon realized the benefit of not discussing their times of fasting or other aspects of their faith with non-Muslims. One student told of being served pork in a college cafeteria after having been assured by the cafeteria staff that it was not pork. Because Muslims do not eat pork, this student immediately became ill, much to the amusement of the non-Muslim cafeteria staff. A Muslim university professor at an area college told me of his efforts to maintain a distinct separation between his profession and his personal faith. He blamed the media for "magnifying the negative" image of Islam in the world. He concluded that people "driven by religion, no matter what, tend to lose all logic."

It is in this context of prejudice that Islam, along with other belief systems, must be examined and understood in the classroom. Islam is too important a force to ignore. About one billion of the Earth's five billion inhabitants are Muslims. Although Arab countries are home to 180 million Muslims, the number of Muslims in southeast Asia, Africa, and India/Pakistan greatly exceeds that number. Furthermore, there are nearly six million Muslims in North America today from various parts of the world. Of these, 47 percent are under the age of 30. The United States has more than 1,100 mosques, 80 percent of which were built within the last fourteen years. Islam is currently the nation's fastest growing religion. Muslims who populate the United States are as diverse as any other ethnic group that immigrated before them, contributing greatly to the American mosaic The many faces of Islam in America run the gambit from immigrants in traditional dress to American born Muslims who wear typically western clothes. Despite these realities, the stereotypes, media misinformation, and textbook inaccuracies continue to persist.

The myths and misconceptions held by many about Islam are too numerous to be comprehensively discussed here. Three of the most common deal with the relationship of Islam to Christianity and Judaism, the connection between Islam and violence, and the practice of polygamy.

♦ **Some Common Misconceptions**

1. *Islam Has Little in Common with Christianity and Judaism.* Even though the three religions worship the same God, Muslims are sometimes portrayed as if they worship a God, "Allah", who is different from the God of Judaism and Christianity. It is important to be aware that "Allah" is simply the Arabic word for "God," in the same way that "Dieu" is the French word for God. Christian Arabs, like Muslim Arabs, pray to "Allah." Islam acknowledges many of the prophets of Judaism and Christianity, and regards Christ as a prophet. The doctrines of Islam treat Christians and Jews as "People of the Book," requiring that their beliefs be accorded respect because of what they share with Islam, even though Christians and Jews reject the central Muslim belief in Muhammad as the Prophet of God.

2. *Violence and the Nature of Jihad.* Some radical Islamic movements have engaged in spectacular campaigns of violence. The mere fact that these groups are violent should not be taken to mean that most Muslims either endorse the violence or believe that it is religiously acceptable. Most governments in the Muslim world are adamantly opposed to violent Islamic radical movements. Many of these governments are, in fact, targets of such movements. Likewise, most Muslims are not interested in violent politics and never join or support such movements.

It is also a serious error to treat terrorism as if it were some kind of problem that can be specifically linked to the Islamic world. Terrorism is a phenomenon that is associated with radical politics of many kinds, religious and non-religious, in many different regions of the world. It can be found in places as diverse as Central and South America, Northern Ireland and other parts of Europe, Africa and non-Islamic regions of Asia.

Although there have been highly publicized acts of violence by radical Muslim, it is absurd to presume that the acts of extremist groups somehow reflect on all Muslims. We would consider it unacceptable if foreigners judged the United States to be a society of criminals because

it has a high crime rate.

In media accounts, however, Islam is frequently reduced to an idea that all Muslims are militant "fundamentalists" and that all of these Islamic fundamentalists are "holy warriors." A common stereotype is that all Muslims engage in acts of "jihad," often described as a "holy war" against infidels, a military struggle in which death is an acceptable, even desirable result. During the Persian Gulf War, calls made by Iraq's Saddam Hussein for all Muslims to join in a "jihad"against the West only contributed to this negative image.

In Arabic, the word "jihad" literally means "struggle," "striving," or "effort." It is different linguistically from the Arabic words for either "holy" or "war". It is commonly translated as "holy war," because that was the closest equivalent in English that western translators could find for one of the meanings of "jihad," which is a military struggle justified on religious grounds. "Jihad," however, also has a much broader meaning, which includes non-military struggle for any good cause (e.g., the personal struggle of a good individual to overcome temptations). Like most societies, Muslims tend to see wars they fight as having been imposed on them by others, so that typically when Muslims describe a war as a "jihad," they are thinking of a struggle in defense of Islam or a Muslim community rather than an aggressive war.

3. *Polygamy.* Muslim men are sometimes portrayed as possessing a harem of wives who follow obediently behind their husbands, with children in tow. This commonly reinforced imagery of Muslim women conjures up the idea of heavily veiled women living in virtual subjugation to the males in their lives. This interpretation of the situation of married Muslims is extremely ethno-centric and one-dimensional.

Islam does permit polygamy, and a Muslim man may have as many as four wives. The religion mandates that the male support and treat each of his wives equally. Contrary to the stereotype, however, polygamy is widely disapproved by educated Muslims, and monogamy is increasingly the rule in most Muslim countries. In Islam, the institution of marriage constitutes a religious as well as a civil contract. Divorce, though disliked and discouraged, is permissible when all other attempts at reconciliation are exhausted.

In discussion issues of women's status, as well as other issues of life-style, it is important to take into account the enormous diversity of the Islamic world. Different Muslims countries differ greatly in educational and economic development; within Muslims countries, there are great differences in the way people live and think, depending on their class and region, and on whether they live in a major metropolis or a tiny village. A middle-class Muslim woman in Istanbul or Beirut lives a life that is closer to that of a woman in the West than to that of a peasant woman in South Asia. A realistic examination of Muslim women in the world will portray them in the cultural context or country in which they reside. For example, although many women in Muslim countries choose to wear the veil or the head covering (hijab), many Muslim women in North America choose not to wear these.

♦ **Breaking the Barriers of Ignorance**

Today's students must be prepared to live in a world vastly different than the one in which their parents were born. The sweeping political and socioeconomic changes that have characterized the last decade all contribute to this dynamic environment. Classroom teachers need to be mindful of these dynamics. Teachers need to remain fully informed of the changes that envelop the earth, and present these change in the classroom with balance.

Examining different religions provides an excellent example of how different belief systems are often judged or critiqued. Studying different religions in the classroom, especially in schools in homogenous areas, is a particular challenge for a teacher seeking to engage in an open, comparative study of religions. The danger is that other religions will be evaluated in comparison to the ethno-centric "norm" of the culture in which the class is conducted. Such units degenerate into an "us versus them" ideology, frequently reinforcing the worst of the existing stereotypes.

Social studies teacher frequently develop resources wherever they can find them -- sometimes in the most unlikely places. For example, the social studies curriculum can be enriched by inviting foreign students who are attending nearby colleges into the classroom. Such visitors can add tremendous depth and dimension to the unit of study. Invariably, cultural barriers are broken and minds are opened. Furthermore, educators can attend workshops and conferences whenever possible to further develop their resource base of information and materials.

Teachers interested in teaching units on Islam can obtain assistance from a number of institutions. Instructors should be sure to approach their classroom text with a critical eye, always looking for inaccuracies -- on any topic -- that may be perpetuated. Teachers should always supplement their curriculum with information from a variety of sources, not relying simply on one textbook manufacturer for a final word.

Developing a sense of tolerance and acceptance of diversity in today's students is essential in fostering an environment of international cooperation in the coming years. The future will be characterized by constant global change. Those individuals who absorb and grow will best flourish in this environment. The nations that welcome the dynamics of change with open doors and open minds will best command the next century.

Early Islamic Civilization in Global Perspective

(Jane Hathaway, "Early Islamic Civilization in Global Perspective" published in World History Bulletin, 1996, Vol. VII, no. 1, pp.13-19, Reprinted by permission.)

An Indonesian mosque, a medieval Andalusian medical treatise, an Egyptian handbook on government, an Anatolian sufi order, a sixteenth-century Persian miniature, and an illuminated Nigerian Qur'an are all part of Islamic civilization. Clearly, Islamic civilization is a global phenomenon, transcending both the tenets of the Muslim religion and the community of Muslim believers to encompass the cultural legacy to which members of all predominantly Muslim socieies have contributed. This legacy is artistic, architectural, musical, mathematical, medical, literary, legal, political, theological, and spiritual. By the same token, Islamic history is much more than the study of the Muslim religion's development over the past fourteen centuries. Rather, it is the study of the culture generated under the aegis of Islam in all the societies to which the religion spread. In short, Islamic history is by its very nature world history. World history as a discipline seeks to integrate deverse people's, regions, and cultures within a common framework. Islam provides just such a framework, perhaps more readily than others of the world's great religions, for in the course of centuries, Islam has integrated a large and diverse group of societies in a comparably large and diverse group of regions. At a time when the historian's lens increasingly adopts the perspective of the global village, the historian must recognize Muslims and the societies to which they belong, from Senegal to Malaysia, agents of world history.

Islam, it was once fashionable to say, was born in the full light of history. While it would be difficult to assert that other major religions were born in obscurity, it is nonetheless the case that Islam arose in a region at the crossroads of several major civilizations. Mecca in the early seventh century of the Common Era did not belong to an empire, but it lay uncomfortably near the spheres of influence of two of that age's largest, mightiest, and most belligerent empires: the Byzantine and the Sassanian, or Persian. These two sprawling polities divided much of the Mediterranean region and the Levant between themselves. In the Arabian peninsula, they vied for influence through the instrument of two northern Arabian kingdoms. Muhammad, the prophet of Islam, would certainly have dealt with merchants from these two empires who plied the caravan route through the Hijaz, transporting the fabled spices and incense of Yemen. He would also have been familiar with Greek Orthodox and Nestorian Christian proselytes from these two empires. The material

culture of the early Islamic polities and the religious rites that evolved within them are replete with Byzantine and Persian influences, from the face veil for elite women, a custom adopted from the Byzantines, to the Zoroastrian influenced emphasis on ritual ablutions. Early Muslims also adopted practices from other neighboring cultures, notably from the Jews who had fled Yemen in the wake of the Abyssinian invasion of 525 CE, and from the Abyssinians themselves. As time went on, the Muslim empires drew influences from regions farther east into which they expanded, notably India and China. At the same time, they began to leave their own marks on the societies they touched; thus, Turkic converts incorporated many Arabic and Persian words into their languages, and Sufism spread into Central Asia, India, and sub-Saharan Africa.

The question of leadership of the Muslim community following Muhammad's death in 632 itself embodies themes of cultural contact, clash, accommodation and integration. The Prophet's migration, or *hijra*, from Mecca to Medina in 622 (*muhajirun*), most of whom were northern, or Qaysi, Arabs, into contact with the Medinese population of predominantly southern, or Yemini, Arabs. On the Prophet's death, the Medinese and Meccans initially disagreed on the successor (*khalifa*, whence "caliph"); the Medinese favored allowing each group to chose a caliph from within its own ranks. Ultimately, the Meccans prevailed and established the tradition that the caliph must be from the Prophet's own clan of Quraysh. Nonetheless, this fundamental division endured.

As the Muslim polity expanded, conquered non-Arab populations grew to resent their exclusion from the government and army, despite the fact that they were paying taxes to support those very institutions. Under policies set by the second caliph, Umar (634-644), the settled non-Arab population resided outside the garrison towns (*amsar*, s. *misr*) inhabited by the conquering Arab enemies. The easternmost territories that all Arab armies conquered, above all Khurasan in what is now eastern Iran and northwestern Afghanistan, were far removed from the capital at Medina and consequently were never garrisoned. There the soldiers blended into the settled population and became tax-paying cultivators, deprived of the pensions that the state doled out to the garrison-town inhabitants.

Dissatisfaction grew even among the garrison troops themselves when the third caliph, Uthman (644-5656), decreed that they must remain within the towns permanently, foregoing the opportunity to launch commercial enterprises among the conquered populations. This sort of resentment contributed to Uthman's murder by mutinous troops from the Egyptian garrison and to the ensuing series of civil wars, each known as *fitna*, that pitted supporters of Uthman's family, the Umayyads, against supports of the Prophet's son-in-law, Ali. These *fitnas* resulted in a fundamental schism within Islam between Sunnis, or those or favored community consensus in the selection of the caliph, and those who believed that Ali and his descendants had an inalienable right to the caliphate. Eventually, the Alids would evolve into the Shi'ite branch of Islam. But the civil wars had established the Alid movement as a haven for the disenfranchised elements of the Muslim community, notably Yemini Arabs and non-Arabs.

Tension between the enfranchised and the disenfranchised increased under the Umayyad caliphate (661-750). With the exception of the pious Umar b. Abd al-Aziz (717-720), the Umayyad caliphs have acquired an unsavory reputation among scholars and ordinary Muslims alike. They are typically regarded as elitist and chauvinistic, a Qurayshi dyansty who created an "Arab kingdom" that reserved wealth and status for the ruling family and the Syrian Arabs who made up the bulk of their fighting forces. They are faulted both for the grief they dealt the family and adherents of Ali and for their negligence of the broader Muslim community's welfare. In recent years, however, historians have begun to revise, or at least to elaborate on, this view. Recent strides in archaeological and numismatic research have added to our understanding of Umayyad culture, the more so since very few written records of Umayyad rule remain. We are now able to recognize the extent of the cultural

synthesis that the Umayyads achieved. Having moved the Muslim capital from Medina to Damascus, deep in former Byzantine territory, they were susceptible to numerous Byzantine influences, which appear in their administration and architecture. The Great Mosque of Damascus, built by largely Greek masons on the site of an Orthodox church, itself resembles a Greek basilica. It is decorated with Byzantine-style mosaics which, however, do not depict human figures but show a vista of vegetation and stylized buildings. Umayyad palaces clearly draw on Roman and Byzantine models and are even decorated with sculptures of the caliph, unique examples of this form of figural representation in Islamic art. Following the reign of Muawia (661-680), the splendid isolation of the Umayyad caliphs in their lavish palaces, such a departure from the custom at Medina, resembles that of the Byzantine emperor. We now know, furthermore, that the Umayyads contributed substantially to imperial bureaucracy and a regal court culture. These were not Abbasid innovations, as scholars of an earlier generation believed; rather, the Abbasids built on Umayyad precendents. The Umayyads were even the first Muslim rulers to mint their own coins. They adopted the Byzantine gold denarius (*dinar*) outright, initially even engraving it with the caliph's likeness.

Under the Umayyads, the Muslim conquests continued to advance, into Central Asia and India and in the east into Spain in the West. Umayyad armies even besieged Constantinople in 717 and 718. As the conquests continued, larger and larger numbers of non-Arabs came under Muslim rule. According to what was until recently the conventional wisdom, non-Arab, and above all Iranian, dissatisfaction gave rise to the Abbasid revolution, which brought the Umayyad caliphate to an end in 750. Recent historiography has pointed out, however, that while the Abbasids won a large following among Iranians, the movement was led by Arabs and, moreover, enjoyed the support of quite a large number of Arab Muslims, including the Muslim establishment at Medina.

In fact, the Abbasid movement was no more Persian than the Umayyads were Greek. It did, however, attract and patronize many Iranians, just as the Umayyads had patronized many Greeks. In fact, the contrast between the Umayyad and Abbasid cultures in many respects mirrors the pre-Islamic rivalry between Greek and Persian cultures as embodied in the Byzantine and Sassanian empires. In founding a capital of Ctseiphon, the Abbasids opened the Muslim community to profound Persian cultural influences. Abbasid painting, architecture and court culture incorporated Persian elements. Still, it would be misleading to speak of a Persianate Abbasid culture that rejected all Greek influence, for the Sassanians had themselves been highly hellenized, and their Hellenism filtered into Abbasid culture. The marks of Hellenism appear in the explosion of Muslim science and philosophy under the Abbasids. In addition to composing original works, Muslim scholars translated classic Greek works into Arabic; the caliph al-Mamun (813-833) even opened a school of translation in Baghdad. Through this process, works of classical Greek scholarship reached Muslims while most of Christian Europe languished in the throes of the Dark Ages.

At its height, from 750 through the mid-tenth century of the Common Era, the Abbasid empire embodies Islam as a world civilization. The Abbasid realm stretched from Spain in the west to India in the east. As a number of scholars have pointed out, it was possible for a merchant to travel from Cordoba through Fustat and Damascus to Baghdad while conversing in a single language, Arabic, and using a single currency, the Abbasid dinar. Merchants, scholars and government officials did travel, contributing a massive circulation of people, money, goods and information within the empire. Commerce and diplomacy extended beyond the Abbasid domain, as well, reaching to the Khazars and Bulghars to the north, China to the east, the lower Indian peninsula and sub-Saharan Africa to the south.

Technically, the Abbasid era encompasses the entire period from the Abbasid caliphate's inception in 750 until the Mongol conquest of Baghdad in 1258. Many historians, however, take

the Abbasid regime to have lasted only two centuries in actual fact, after which its authority was usurped by regional potentates. Of these, the most notable were the Persian Buyids (945-1055) and the Seljuk Turks (1055-1092), both of whom took over Baghdad. The potentates in the eastern part of the Muslim realm at least recognized the Abbasid caliph, now little more than a figurehead, from whom they derived spiritual legitimacy.

In the west, however, a fundamental challenge to the caliphate arose in the form of the Fatimids, an Ismaili Shi'ite counter-caliphate that established its seat in Tunisia before founding Cairo in 969. The rivalry between the two caliphates was an epic struggle, every bit as intense as the Abbasids' struggle against the Umayyads. Like the early Abbasids, the Fatimids employed propagandists, who roamed Abbasid territory, attempting to subvert the Sunni regime from within. Yet even this intense antagonism did not deter commerce between the Fatimid and (nominally) Abbasid realms; as the documents of the Cairo Geniza make clear, trade was fairly brisk between Fatimid Egypt and Iraq and points east, as well as between Fatimid territory and the Crusader states. Under the circumstances, we might perhaps speak of a commerical impetus that transcended individual political regimes.

The emergence of the Fatimid counter-caliphate abruptly divided the Muslim realm into eastern and western zones. In so doing, it separated the Abbasid caliphate from its subjects in Spain, then under the rule of a branch of the Umayyad household that had escaped the Abbasid conquest. In the face of this isolation, the Umayyad prince Abd al-Rahman III declared himself caliph in 929. Under this new Umayyad caliphate, Muslim spain enjoyed its greatest period of cultural efflorescence. Cordoba was for a time the premier capital within the Islamic domains, and, arguably, in the world. From this point on, Muslim Spain's history takes a trajectory distinct from that of the Muslim east; it is now tied much more closely to the fortunes of Morocco. Besides the famous Spanish golden age poetry, relatively little was known of Umayyad Spain until the past few decades. Recent archaeological finds, above all at the caliphal palace at Madinat al-Zahra outside Cordoba, have shed new light on Spanish Umayyad court culture; meanwhile, new historical studies have uncovered the links between the Spanish Umayyad caliphate and the two more powerful caliphates.

If the Abbasid golden age represents an era of political, religious, intellectual and commercial integration, the period of decentralization and fragmentation that followed is one of diverse cultural contacts and heterogeneous influences on the Muslim polities. The potpourri of Persian and Turkic potentates who diluted the Abbasid caliph's power came from a variety of cultural traditions which they brought to bear on the culture of the courts at Baghdad and at their regional capitals. In North Africa, meanwhile, the Abbasid-Fatimid rivalry prompted the indigenous Berber populations to assert themselves, playing the two regimes against each other. In Spain, the beginning of the Christian reconquest in 1085 brought Christians and Muslims into unprecedented contact. This contact culminated in the twelfth-century translation movement in reconquered Toledo, where Muslim and classical Greek learning were translated from Arabic into Latin, making these works accessible to Europeans for the first time.

The most famous -- or infamous -- contact between Christians and Muslims during this period was of course the Crusades. It is often tempting to treat the Crusades as a forerunner of early modern European imperialism. The Muslims in whose midst the Crusaders established their states, however, regarded these little enclaves in Syria and Palestine as a relatively minor nuisance. Of far greater consequence, in their estimation, was the Christian *reconquista* in Spain, which had its first major successes shortly before the First Crusade, and which Muslim observers tend to view as an integral part of the crusading mission. It is ironic to note, when assessing the First Crusade in the eastern Mediterranean, that the Crusades attacked the wrong group of Saracens. The European kingdoms were incensed by the Seljuk's prohibition of Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem

after they had conquered the Fatimids and gained control of the city in 1071; by the time the Crusaders attacked, however, the Fatimids had retaken the city. The roughly two centuries during which the Crusader states clung to the Syrian littoral provided fewer opportunities for contact than one might expect. The Crusaders conducted some trade with their Muslim neighbors and, inevitably, adopted certain regional customs. The chivalric military culture of medieval Europe may also have drawn on Muslim prototypes. Intellectual exchange, however, was meager, in stark contrast to the fruitful exchanges that occurred in twelfth-century Toledo. Yet we would do well to remember that the Crusader states were dealing with vigorous Muslim powers that posed a constant threat to their existence. The scholars of Toledo, on the other hand, had the luxury of sifting the intellectual legacy of the vanquished.

After the tenth century, the territory once ruled by the Abbasdids never again enjoyed such a level of integration until the height of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century. Between the mid-tenth century and the Mongol invasions in the thirteenth century, the Muslim lands became progressively more fragmented. By the time the Mongols invaded, the authority of the Abbasid caliph extended no farther than the immediate vicinity of Baghdad. Even the local potentates lacked unity; the Seljuks had lost authority to regents (*atabegs*) who ruled individual regions, notably the Zangids in Iraq and Syria. On the other hand, the domain of the Fatimid caliphate had returned to the Sunni fold after the caliphate gave way to the Ayyubid dynasty, founded by Salah al-Din Yusuf b. Ayyb, known in the west as Saladin, the client of a Zangid *atabeg*. Notwithstanding, Ayyubid Egypt and Syria constituted yet another regional power paying lip service to the Abbasid caliph. Spain and Morocco, meanwhile, followed an entirely different course under the puritanical Almohads (1130-1275), self-proclaimed Berber caliphs who professed allegiance to neither the Abbasids nor the Fatimids.

These first six hundred years of Islam pose a number of world historical questions, many connected with how an evolving empire responds to the challenges posed by its own expansion. The Abbasid golden age, in particular, embodies a striking array of world historical themes. One could easily speak of the Abbasid empire during this period as a world system as defined by Janet Abu-Lughod or Immanuel Wallersteing, with a central zone at Baghdad and multiple regional centers at Basra, Nishapur, Damascus, Cairo, Qayrawan, Cordoba and other towns. Bulghars, Khazars, Russians, Hindus, Berbers, Abyssinians and even Franks and Goths populated the Abbasid empire's periphery.

This Abbasid world system participated in and linked two major ocean trading zones: those of the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. Although the requirements of travel in these two oceans were different, and although it was extremely rare for a single merchant to trade across both oceans, Mediterranean and Indian Ocean goods circulated throughout the Abbasid domains. The Abbasid provinces bordering these two bodies of water traded avidly not only among themselves but also with Byzantines, Franks and various Indian Hindu principalities. In short, either ocean in the Islamic Golden Age warrants a study as a coherent economic and, to some extent, cultural unit, comparable to Fernand Braudel's study of the Mediterranean in the age of Philip II or K.N. Chaudhuri's multi-century study of the Inidan Ocean. S.D. Goitein's extraordinary opus *A Mediterranean Society*, based on medieval documents preserved in a Cairene synagogue, offers a multifacted portrait of the southern and eatern coasts of the Mediterranean during the waning years of the Abbasid and the Fatimid caliphates, and provides a model for what such an integrated study could achieve.

More specific issues of Islamic empire-building are similarly susceptible to world historical analysis. One might mention urban development; slavery, including the distinctive brand of military slavery practiced in many Islamic polities; the seclusin of women; and treatment of minorities.

Islam has often been described as an urban

religion inasmuch as it arose in a thriving commercial town, and political power in Islamic states has typcially concentrated in cities. During the 1960's the Islamic city emerged as a major focus of inquiry. Scholars such as the late S.M. Stern questioned whether Islam itself imposed certain forms and functions on a city: the central mosque and market, the enclosed quarters and narrow, twisting streets. In recent years, Andre Raymond has achieved something of a breakthrough in the study of Ottoman-era cities by pointing out a regional and climatic dimension to urban topography and residential design that transcends the religious dimension. Thus, for example, an upper-class family house in Cairo bears more resemblence to one in Christian Spain than it does to one in Anatolia or Yemen. Richard Bulliet has demonstrated that the narrow, winding alleys so frequently associated with the "typical" Islamic city resulted from a lack of wheeled vehicles, which had been displaced by camels. In short, ubran layout and residential construction take their places as regional phenomena that can be studies in a particular geographical, as opposed to merely a religio-cultural, context. By the same token, urban challenges such as water management, maintanence of public order, defense against invasion and brigandage, and relations with the rural hinterland can be reassessed in such a global perspective.

The need for a reliable source of military manpower posed a problem from the early years of the first Islamic empires. The Rightly Guided caliphs, the Umayyads, and the Abbasids had all relied initially on regional populations who supported their causes: the early caliphs on Bedouin tribes, the Umayyads on Syrian Arab contingents, the Abbasids on Khurasani warriors. The danger always existed, however, that these privileged military elites would turn against the regime they had supported and draw on their regional power bases to oppose or manipulate it. The Prophet's companions had experienced this eventuality at the time of his death, when the Bedouin tribes who had accepted Islam, considering their convenant with Muhammad to have lapsed with his death, rebelled against his successors. As a result of the civil wars that ensued, known as the Wars of the Ridda (apostasy), Islam spread throughout the Arabian peninsula. Months of warfare convinced the early caliphs of the need for strict control of the tribes, which they achieved through the garrison towns, but did not prompt them to seek entirely new soruces of manpower. This innovation developed under the Abbasid caliphs, whose Khurasani troops frequently wrought havoc in Baghdad. Toward the middle of the ninth century, the caliph al-Mu'tasim (833-842) began to purchase Turkish slaves from the Central Asian steppe, convert them to Islam, and to train them as his personal soldiers. In 836, he founded a new capital at Samarra, north of Baghdad on the Tigris. This new capital was populated solely by the caliph, his retinue, and these military slaves, who were known as *ghilma* (s. *ghulam* or *mamluks*, divided into quarters based on their places of origin. Relatively recent research suggests that the use of mamluks did not originate with al-Mu'tasim; mamluks of one sort or another can be observed under the Umayyads and perhaps even under early caliphs. Al-Mu'tasim and his successors, however, were the first to employ mamluks systematically on a large scale. Their strategy was to remove young Turkish men from their families and lands of origin and train them in the caliph's capital, so that their only loyalty would be to the caliph. The mamluk system was adopted by numerous other medieval powers, notably the Seljuks, Ghaznavids and Ayyubids, and would remain a viable source of military recruitment in a number of Muslim polities well into the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, the mamluks could themselves form a formidable interest group; later Abbaid caliphs came to be utterly dominated by their mamluks. And in the most momentous instance, the mamluks of the Ayyubids displaced their masters and established the Mamluk sultanate (1250-1517) in Egypt, Syria, south-eastern Anatolia and the Hijaz.

The systematic acquisition of large numbers of mamluks contributed to the Abbasid empire's and its successor regimes' status as world empires, for it brought them into regular contact with the

lands outside the borders of Islam from which mamluks were traditionally procured. Yet this solution to the problem of reliable sources of manpower becomes a more intriguing world historical issue if we compare it to the solutions adopted in non-Muslim polities. Although slavery, including palace, or elite, slavery, was widely practiced in a number of non-Muslim polities, such as the Byzantine and Chinese empires, no major non-Muslim regime adopted military slavery on the order of the mamluk system. The mamluk system was best suited to polities in which the ruler controlled the rights to land, as was the case in Muslim territories. This allowed the ruler to assign the usufruct of specified lands to his mamluk commanders so that they might support troops with the revenues. In polities in which a hereditary landowning nobility existed, such provision for a class of foreign military slaves would have been difficult, if not impossible, since the slaves' interests would have clashed with those of the nobles. This is not to suggest, however, that a feudal society with a hereditary nobility necessarily precluded the use of military slaves. It would be useful to investigate what criteria led to various forms of recruitment worldwide.

It seems clear, in any case, that the mamluk system in the first instance appealed to states in an age when swift cavalry attacks were the principal form of battlefield encounter; mamluks from the Central Asian steppe were therefore valued not only because they had no extraneous allegiances but also because they were highly proficient horesment. In most cases, the chiefs of such cavalry forces depended on the assignment of plots of land where they could graze their horses, breed new ones, and train mounted troops. When salaried, gun-wielding infantry began to overshadow cavalry under the Ottomans, the importance of landed estates coorespondingly declined. A more obscure question is what part military personnel played in the political, economic and cultural lives of various polities. A number of Seljuk *ghilman* participated in mysticism and became noteworthy scholars. The mamluks of Egypt and their offspring also patronized religious establishments and produced literary works, often of some note.

If we consider slavery in general, we open a much broader field for comparative global analysis. Although Islam does not forbid slavery, the Prophet considered it meretorious to manumit slaves; furthermore, Islamic law is far less restrictive in issues of slave status than classical Greek or many medieval and early modern European codes of law. Yet, Muslim polities, like their counterparts elsewhere, made extensive use of slaves, mamluks and otherwise. African slaves were heavily employed in agriculture, although as is the case with many features of rural life under Islam, we know relativel little about the full extent and conditions of this form of slavery. The wretched conditions of the slaves who dredged salt from the marshes of southern Iraq under the Abbasids came to light because of their well-documented rebellion. This rebellion, known as the Zanj revolt (Zanj being the Arabic term for most categories of Sub-Saharan Africans), was massive in scope and lasted from 869-883. Yet how many parallel instances of exploitive agricultural slavery existed is not fully known.

Far better documented is domestic slavery and what has been called elite slavery, encompassing mamluks and court slaves. Elite slavery appears to have been a common feature of Mediterranean and Asian empires from antiquity through quite recent times; in fact, the early Muslim empires probably adopted it from the Byzatines and Persians. Often the mamluk system itself yielded a contingent of slave courtiers who might be current or former military commanders. Slave women were also purchased from the same regions and married to male slaves or to the ruler; otherwise, they might be installed in the ruler's harem.

The harem, a private space where women resided, is almost a cliche of Islamic culture, yet it, too, had precedents and parallels in other empires. The Byzantines and Chinese, for two prominent examples, kept royal women and children secluded from public contact. In fact, it has recently been pointed out that royal seclusion, in whatever polity it occurred, served to seclude

not only royal women but royal men, as well. Chinese and Byzantine emperors and Muslim caliphs alike lived in splendid isolation designed to separate them from the ranks of their subjects. The need to preserve the ruler's inner sanctum explains in large part the existence of elite slaves loyal only to the ruler. The epitome of such slaves were eunuchs, employed by numerous empires, from the ancient Persian to the Byzantine to the Chinese to virtually all Muslim empires.

Muslim rulers' treatment of their non-Muslim subjects is an emotional and highly contentious subject, and one that is dogged by implicit and explicit comparisons to treatment of Jews under European and Christian rule. Many studies of religious minorities under Islamic rule compare their circumstances to those of Jews in Europe; during the period preceding the Mongol conquest of Baghdad, Islamic polities seem far more tolerant. Jews and Christians participated fully in commerce and attained high positions at many Muslim courts. Their circumstances deteriorated when the surrounding society suffered economic hardship and military defeat, as occurred in isolated instances throughout the period. In polities subject to unusual stresses, such as those situated on the borders of the enemy Christian lands and those under the sway of zealous sectarian movements, minorities' circumstances were, naturally, strained.

Considering such features of early Islamic civilization in a global, comparative context prevents us from viewing Islam as a timeless, monolithic, self-sufficient entity and, by the same token, obliges us to remain aware of Islam's contact with other cultures and its place in world history. It is precisely because of their manifold contacts with and influences upon other cultures that the early Islamic empires can truly be called global civilizations.

The Crescent Obscured

(Robert J. Allison, *The Crescent Obscured: The United States and the Muslim World 1776-1815* New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. Permission pending)

Virtually every American knows that the United States fought a war with the "Barbary pirates" in the early 1880's, a war memorialized in the Marine Corps hymn. That had been the extent of my own knowledge of this American encounter with the Muslim world.

But this war was not an isolated phenomenon, not a chance encounter. The American encounter with the Muslim world actually began before there was a United States and almost before Europeans became aware that America existed. When the Christian kingdoms of Castille and Aragon conquered the Muslim kingdom of Granada in 1492, their most Christian majesties Isabella and Ferdinand had extra capital to pay for Columbus's voyage to the Orient. But however important this voyage would be to our history, Ferdinand and Isabella hoped that by securing a new route to the Indies, they would find a new source of revenue to pay for their continuing holy war against the Muslims they had driven into Morocco and Algiers. Sixteenth-century Europeans would remain more interested in driving the Turks from the Mediterranean and Eastern Europe than they would be in colonizing the Americas. John Smith, before he turned his attention to America, fought the Turks in Eastern Europe and was captured by the bashaw of Nalbrits. No Turkish Pocahontas came forward to offer her life in exchange for Captain Smith's, so he killed the bashaw and escaped. This may have been the first "American" encounter with a Muslim tyrant, but it would not be the last. In 1625 Morocco captured an American ship, and twenty years later a ship built in Cambridge, Massachusetts, with a crew from that colony, defeated an Algerian ship at sea, in an action James Fenimore Cooper would later call the first American naval battle. In 1673, when Britain and Algiers were at war, the Algerians captured a ship from New York. Churches in that city raised money to redeem their sailors. At the close of the seventeenth century, Joshua Gee, a sailor from Massachusetts, was held captive in Sallee, Morocco. When he got home to Boston, he was a celebrity: He wrote the story of his captivity and redemption, and Cotton Mather celebrated his

deliverance with a sermon.

These episodes are important, and must be considered as part of a larger struggle that did not end when the Ottoman Turks were driven from the gates of Vienna or their navy beaten at Lepanto. This was more than a struggle for trade routes or territory. Americans at the time saw these episodes as part of the contest between Christians and Muslims, between Europeans and Turks or Moors, and ultimately, between what came to be called civilization and what the newly civilized world would define as barbarism. The Americans inherited this understanding of the Muslim world and pursued this enemy more relentlessly than the Europeans had done.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the Barbary states of North Africa (Algiers, Morocco, Tunis and Tripoli) threatened only weaker nations, such as Denmark, Sweden, the states of Italy, and the United States. Their naval strength had not kept pace with that of the British or French. No longer a threat to England or France, instead the Barbary states became their tools. It was a common eighteenth-century maxim in England, France, and Holland that if there were no Algiers, it would be worthwhile for England, France or Holland to build one. The British, Dutch, and French could pay Algiers to attack their competitors, making the Mediterranean dangerous for the Danes, Swedes, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italians. The British were quick to inform Algiers when the United States became independent, and in 1785 Algiers captured two American ships and eleven more in 1793. These captures created problems for America's political leaders -- John Adams, John Jay, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson -- and equally vexing troubles for American citizens. Jefferson, who was minister to France in 1785, immediately proposed war, which he said would prove to both the sates of Africa and Europe that the United States was a new kind of nation, which would not play the games of European power politics. John Adams, whose presidential administration would adopt the rhetorical position "Millions for defense, not one cent for tribute," thought the United States, like the Europeans, should pay tribute to Algiers. Peace would be less expensive than war, Adams believed, and tribute to the Algerians and Tripolitans was the price of doing business in the Mediterranean.

Adams won the argument. Once relations with Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli were smoothed by treaty, President Adams sent consuls to the Barbary states. These consuls had dual roles as diplomats and independent businessmen, who would supplement their meager salaries through their own commercial enterprise. They bickered with one another and could not see that their own commercial interests were different from their country's interest. Instead of preserving American peace in the Mediterranean, this policy brought on the war with Tripoli.

The war with Tripoli carried great ideological importance for the Americans, who imagined themselves doing what the nations of Europe had been unable or unwilling to do: beating the forces of Islamic despotism and piracy. This war proved to Americans their real status as a nation and affirmed that theirs was to be a different king of nation -- different from both the nations of Europe, which were content to pay tribute to the Barbary states, and from the Muslim states, ravaged by their rulers and torn apart by their impoverished and savage people. For the Americans, the war had a significance far beyond military objectives. Pope Pius VII said the Americans had done more in a few years than the rest of Christendom had done in centuries: They had humbled the Muslim states of North Africa. The war against Tripoli was meant to do this, but it was also meant as a lesson to Europe. The Americans had proved that they would behave better than the Europeans, that they would not stoop to the demands of Tripoli or use the Barbary states to drive their own competitors from the sea. The war inspired the American people with a renewed sense of their mission and destiny.

This is the story. But just as Scherezade would tell many small tales in the course of telling one large one, this large story had many smaller narratives within it. Scherezade used her minor stories to bring out the points of her larger one, and so the minor facets of this history all

contribute to the whole. All the minor parts of the story of American relations with the Muslim world bear on the larger themes, the themes of liberty, power, and human progress. A flood of books on the Muslim world poured from American presses in the 1790's: captivity narratives; histories, including two biographies of Muhammad; novels and poems; and the first American edition of *Arabian Nights*. This literature conveyed a consisted picture of the Muslim world, an inverted image of the world the Americans were trying to create anew. The ability to create the world anew gave the Americans endless chances to improve people's lives but just as many chances to ruin them. In the literature on the Muslim world, Americans saw what could happen to people who made the wrong choices. Mohammad had offered people a chance to change, and change they did, adopting a new religion, building new states and empires, reorganizing family life. But each change had been a tragic mistake. The once prosperous people of Egypt, Turkey, Mauritania, and Syria were impoverished by bad governments, and their fertile lands turned to deserts. In Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, honest commerce was perverted into piracy by avaricious deys and pachas. Everywhere, women were debased in harems and seraglios, the victims of unrestrained sexual power. The Muslim world was a lesson for Americans in what not to do, in how not to construct a state, encourage commerce, or form families. Power had to be controlled, liberty had to be secured, for men and women to prosper and for societies to progress.

But though the American people had avoided some evils, they had not avoided them all. How could the United States condemn Algiers for enslaving Americans when Americans themselves enslaved Africans? If slavery was wrong for the Americans, was it not also wrong for Africans? Slavery in the United States mad the congratulations Americans bestowed on themselves for avoiding political, religious, or sexual tyranny sound hollow, hypocritical, and shameful. Perhaps the war against Tripoli did prove that the Americans had created a different kind of nation. But Americans came home from "slavery" in Algiers, Morocco, and Tripoli to a nation in which slavery was much more deeply rooted than in any Muslim society. By avoiding the mistakes of Muslims, who submitted without question to their rulers and religion, Americans for an instant thought they had avoided the fate of every empire that had risen only to fall. But slavery in America constantly reminded them of their failure. The degree to which their countrymen submitted to it as a necessary evil, or endorsed it as a positive good, was the degree to which all Americans would be condemned by their just God, the God of the Christians and the Muslims, who judged all men.

This book begins in a time of fear, in the years after the American Revolution, before the Constitution was established, before the United States had defeated not only Tripoli but England, the world's greatest military force. The Americans had overcome the fears of the 1780's and 1790's, the fears that they might fall into the traps of anarchy or despotism. The successful creation and maintenance of constitutional government, and the military victories over Tripoli and England, ushered in a period of confidence and national assurance. But the Americans were felt with the unresolved dilemma of slavery, a constant reproach to their own sense of moral superiority. Slavery's legacy still haunts us, proving a more dangerous and resilient phantom than any genie, sultan or ayatollah.

"The War with Tripoli"

Few men have assumed the presidency with as clear an agenda as Thomas Jefferson. His was more than a political program: Jefferson saw his election in 1800 as a revolution, as a return to the ideals of 1776, as Jefferson understood those ideals. "Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe," the American republic, Jefferson believed, had room for generations of citizens to live in peace and prosperity. But though peaceful, the Americans were "too high-minded to endure the degradations of others," and

when Secretary of State James Madison found dispatches from Tripolic warning that Pacha Yusuf Qaramanli was threatening war with the United States, Jefferson acted quickly. In his first annual meeting in December 1801, he told Congress that Tripoli "had come forward with demands unfounded either in right or in compact" and that the "style of the demand admitted but one answer."

The answer was the one Jefferson had been proposing since 1785. He sent the U.S. navy to the Mediterranean. Jefferson acknowledged that the previous administration had allowed the United States to lag in its tribute payments, but he quickly moved to pay what the Americans owed, and so "vindicate to ourselves the right of considering the effect of departure from stipulation on their side." The United States would not be accused of failing to honor its obligations. Jefferson proposed to pay up and fight."

Jefferson's diplomatic experience in the 1780's had convinced him that military force was the only way to deal with the Barbary states. But his political experience in the 1790's had reinforced his fear of government power and made him wary of using that force. So in plunging once again into Barbary affairs, Jefferson was setting out to do a number of things. He was determined as ever not to submit to the demands of the Barbary powers, anxious to prove to both to the North Africans and to the Europeans that the Americans were not going to play the same power games other nations did. But Jefferson was also determined not to create a military machine in the United States, and his administration was committed to reducing federal debt. Some extreme Republicans, like William Branch Coles, wanted to abolish the navy altogether. Jefferson was not so dogmatic, though he would insist on extensive cuts in the navy budge. He would also insist that the navy -- that any military branch -- be strictly subservient to civil power, that the military not become an independent interest, but that it be completely under the control of elected officials.

Jefferson also revived the idea of an international alliance. Tripoli had threatened Sweden as well as the United States. Jefferson did not know that Adams had rebuffed Swedish overtures in 1800. Jefferson ordered the American fleet to cooperate with Sweden or any other nation at war with Tripoli, and if Yusuf Qaramanli had declared war on the United States Jefferson ordered the fleet to blockade Tripoli.

Jefferson's seemingly contradictory policies -- reducing government spending and sending the navy halfway around the world -- were in fact directed to the same goal. He had taken part in a revolution against a large, abusive government. That revolution, as Jefferson saw it, was fought to free the people's energies. By closing the Mediterranean to the people's entrepreneurial spirit, the Barbary states imposed a barrier that was just as effective as the British Navigation Acts. By engaging in officially piracy, the Barbary states place themselves outside the accepted bounds of international law.

That the British used Algiers to attack Americans did not excuse the Algerians, any more than British instigation of Indian atrocities on the frontiers excused the Indians. By refusing to play the European game of bribery, by standing up to the Barbary powers and removing them from the European arsenal of weapons against the New World, Jefferson would convince Europe that his was a new kind of nation, one that would not follow the corrupt practices of the old world.

By December 1801 Jefferson could report success. Lt. Andrew Setrrett and the schooner *Enterprise* had engaged a Tripolitan ship in a day-long sea battle, killing twenty Tripolitans and wounding thirty others without losing a single American. In an early draft of his message, Jefferson wanted to cite this as the first example of American bravery; he was advised that others had given examples of courage during the Adams administration's war with France. Jefferson did tell Congress that Sterrett's victory should convince Europe that Americans were willing to fight. Jefferson wanted Sterrett's victory to be a lesson to Europe as well as to Tripoli. And though he said that Americans would fight, they only did so to secure peace, preferring to "direct

the energies of our nation to the multiplications of the human race, and not to its destruction."

Jefferson meant to prove that the Americans were going to behave differently from the Europeans, that they would not make war and peace articles of commerce, and that they could fight a war without creating a military machine or sacrificing republican values. Jefferson told Congress that he had sent the *Enterprise* to the Mediterranean for purely defensive reasons. The decision to wage war or not would be left up to the Congress. The following week Congress debated the issue, considering weather to allow Jefferson "further and more fully and effectually to protect" American commerce. Maryland Republican Joseph Nicholson objected. The words "further and more," Nicholson said, should be stricken since Jefferson plainly did not want more power. In fact, Nicholson pointed out, Jefferson's administration was making drastic reductions in the army and navy. Why would he, on the one hand, want to reduce the military and, on the other, want more military power? This "would be in the same breath, to say one thing and mean another." The Federalists knew this and wanted to put the Republicans on record as saying one thing -- promising to cut government spending -- while doing another -- actually increasing spending. The Federalists wanted to demonstrate the illogic of Republican policies and the contradictions in Jefferson's statecraft. The Federalists saw Jefferson as a master politician, as a confident man perpetuating fraud on the American people, who would ignore his inconsistencies as he gave them "a smile, a nod, and a squeeze of the hand."

Though Congress granted Jefferson more power to protect commerce, in 1802 it did not seem that he would need it. The Swedish-American blockade, and a hard winter in North Africa, threatened Tripoli with starvation. Neither Algiers nor Tunis came to Tripoli's aid. In December 1802 Jefferson, committed to protecting commerce without a military build-up, reaffirmed his blockade of Tripoli as a way to secure American commerce "with the smallest force competent" to the task."

Jefferson could also report that Morocco would not go to war with the United States, thanks to Consul James Simpson's "temperate and correct course" and Commodore Edward Preble's "promptitude and energy." The *National Intelligencer* exulted that Jefferson "had commanded peace" with Morocco "on his own terms" without either blood or tribute. What did the Federalists, who not long ago had exclaimed "*Millions for defense, but not a cent for tribute*" say about this? The *Intelligencer* reminded its readers that President Washington, "imitating the example of Europe," had bought peace from Algiers with naval stores and a frigate. Jefferson had done more with less money and "without a dollar's tribute!" The same day, the *Intelligencer* published an excerpt from John Rodger's journal giving details of his June victory over a Tripolitan frigate, which ended when the Tripolitan captain blew up his own ship rather than surrender it. Tripoli saw how hopelessly outmatched it was, and Jefferson took pleasure in relating the "honorable facts" of Rodger's "gallant enterprise" to Congress.

The administration was so confident in its policies that when William Eaton, consul to Tunis, suggested more military force in the Mediterranean, he was brushed aside with "predictions of a political millennium" about to be ushered in "as the irresistible consequence of the goodness of heart, integrity and mind, and correctness of disposition of Mr. Jefferson." Eaton was assured that "All nations, even pirates and savages, were to be moved by the influence of his [Jefferson's] persuasive virtue and masterly skill in diplomacy."

Each dispatch ended with a promise that the next one would bring news of victory and peace. Then, in October 1803, the *U.S.S. Philadelphia*, the navy's second largest ship, ran aground off Tripoli and was captured, along with 300 sailors. The men were imprisoned, and the ship was refitted for use against the United States. When news of this disaster struck in March 1804, the Federalists finally had a concrete example of Jefferson's ineptitude to use against him. They had long tried to note the contradiction between

Jefferson's cutting of the military budget and promises to maintain sufficient force, but as long as Jefferson and the navy succeeded, this was an empty charge. Now, though, the Federalists could say that if Jefferson had sent more ships to the Mediterranean, the *Philadelphia* would not have been captured. Had there been another frigate, or even a smaller ship accompanying it, Captain William Bainbridge would not have had to strike his colors and submit to the Tripolitans. Now that Jefferson's parsimony had cost the nation a frigate, the Federalist attacks seemed to have been proved right.

Jefferson immediately called for an increase in force in the Mediterranean. This prompted the New York *Evening Post* to quote Swift:

Behold a proof of Irish sense,
Where Irish wit is seen;
When nothing's left that worth defense,
We build a Magazine.

But though Jefferson now called for more force, he was as determined as ever not to let the military grow unchecked. He would not borrow money to rebuilt the navy, nor would his administration take money they meant to use to repay the national debt. Instead, Jefferson and Treasury Secretary Albert Gallatin revived the idea that Jefferson had broached in the 1780's for a special tax on merchants trading in the Mediterranean. This import tax of 2.5 percent would last only as long as the war with Tripoli. The administration feared the prospect of "increasing taxes, encroaching government, temptations to offensive wars, &c" more than it feared Tripoli. Preparing for contingent wars, Gallatin and Jefferson agreed, encouraged war. The administration insisted that the war be fought with money raised specifically for the war, that the country not be constantly ready to fight.

The Federalists did not think much of either Jefferson's economics or his plan to prevent a permanent military establishment supported by permanent taxes. They took the Mediterranean fund to be another ploy by Jefferson to increase his own popularity. He had cut the navy, the *Charleston* (South Carolina) *Courier* instead, to secure his reelection, and now that his promises of frugality had yielded a harvest of "smut and chaff," his "farce of penury with which the public was cajoled, vanishes from the stage." The New York *Evening Post*, Alexander Hamilton's paper, called the loss of the *Philadelphia* "a practical lesson in Jefferson's economy" and the Mediterranean fund "the most audacious attempt" ever seen "to impose an oppressive burden on the commercial states." The *Post* saw through the "persecuting, oppressive, insincere" tricks of these "political jugglers," noting that the United States owed $800,000 in yearly interest on the money borrowed to buy Louisiana: Was it only a coincidence that the Mediterranean fund would raise $792,000 every year? Jefferson was taxing New England merchants to buy more land for southern farmers, trying to "increase the revenue without loss of popularity." Merchants needed the navy to protect their trade; Jefferson would scrap the navy, then tax the merchants under the pretense of protecting them, and use the proceeds to buy Louisiana. The administration would not tax farmers and laborers, whose votes they needed. Gallatin would not think it proper to raise money "by laying on the *southern whiskey* the tax from which the *mouth of labour* has been so pleasantly relieved.

Jefferson's plan to reduce naval spending by building small sunboats to defend harbors and rivers, boats that would not cross the ocean to fight Tripoli or carry out an offensive war, also came in for Federalist ridicule. When a hurricane flung one of the gunboats out of the Savannah River and dropped it into a cornfield, the *Post* suggested that "in imitation of her gallant Lord High Admiral," she was defending the agricultural interest. "If our gun boats are of no use upon the water," an anonymous Bostonian said, "may they at least be the best upon earth."

The Federalists had always supported the navy and regarded the Republicans as its enemies. "May its strength protect our commerce," one Federalist toasted, "and its glory confound its enemies at *Washington* and Tripoli." Jefferson and his Republican administration, Federalists

charged, cared more about buying the swamps and salt licks of Louisiana than about protecting American commerce and sailors in the Mediterranean. Had the administration sent more than the "smallest force competent" to the Mediterranean the *Philadelphia* would not have been captured. But Jefferson had concluded that since one frigate cost less than two, it would be more economical to have one frigate off Tripoli. This foolish economy had cost the nation one frigate, and now Jefferson saw that he needed to build more frigates. New Hampshire Senator William Plumer conceded that the Adams and Washington administrations had spent too much on the navy, more than $2,000,000 each year compared with Jefferson's $600,000 annual navy budget. But Plumer thought Jefferson's $600,000 naval budget too little, that it was "*bad policy & base wickedness*" to send men to fight without adequate force. A sufficient navy would have been expensive, Plumer wrote, and might have hurt Jefferson's "reputation for economy & lessened his popularity with the rabble," but it would have saved lives.

The Federalists might have won the argument, but Stephen Decatur, a second-generation naval officer, put a stop to the partisan bickering by sneaking into Tripoli's harbor with a select crew and setting fire to the *Philadelphia*. It is impossible to overestimate the impact this news had when it reached America. In Salem, William Bentley had gone to bed despondent on May 15, 1804. A contentious town meeting that day had chosen mediocre men for local offices: Salem's best men refused to serve. Bentley worried about the fate of Salem. But he next morning his spirits lifted: "We receive the news of the destruction of the *Philadelphia* in the harbor of Tripoli just in season to relieve us from the events of yesterday," he wrote. Across the country, Decatur's raid stirred patriotic emotions, changing a disastrous defeat into a glorious victory.

Valorous as Decatur's action was, it did not change the situation in Tripoli. In August and September 1804 the navy increased it blockade of that city and then bombarded it. The actions were not successful and were called off until the spring of 1805, when they resumed, as William Eaton began his own march from Egypt across the Libyan desert to the town of Derne. The navy besieged Tripoli, Eaton besieged Derne, and Tobias Lear negotiated a peace treaty. In June 1805, the United States agreed to pay a $60,000 ransom for the 300 prisoners, and the war ended.

The *Post* asked "our boasting, blustering ministerial sycophants who tell us of Mr. Jefferson's feats in bringing the war with Tripoli to a glorious termination" to read about a French action against Algiers, which resulted in the release of French captives within twenty-four hours. This "mere show of respectable force, and a proper tone" accomplished in a day what took Jefferson four years. The *Post* thought the Republicans should keep quiet about the "stupid manner in which we have carried on a four year war."

The Philadelphia *Aurora* responded that the Federalists would rather have left the officers and crew of the *Philadelphia* "consigned to eternal chains" than see Jefferson have "the merit of emancipating them, and humbling the Tripoline barbarian." When the war ended, and the prisoners and victorious American fleet arrived home, the *Aurora* wrote that "Events speak for themselves"; the "wise and prudent" administration had won the war, despite Federalist carping. A Richmond dinner toasted the administration, "The success of its measures the best proof of its energy." And, the Republicans claimed, all measures had been successful. Even the Mediterranean fund, which the Federalists had charged was a scheme to get New England merchants to pay for Louisiana, the Republicans now claimed had been an important weapon. Yusuf Qaramanli, had reportedly read American newspapers and been "particularly struck with...the report of the secretary of the treasury" that the Mediterranean fund would raise more than half a million dollars every year. Treasury Secretary Gallatin had filled the Pacha with "surprise and apprehension," and in the American treasurer's reports Yusuf "saw that the spirit of the American nation was yet unbroken" and he knew he was an impotent against a nation "which wold

thus contribute `millions for defense but not a cent for tribute."

In fact, though most contemporary Americans dismissed the Federalists as partisan malcontents, subsequent historians have followed their condemnation of Jefferson's handling of the Tripolitan war as inept or inconsistent, and that only luck and Decatur's bravery saved the day. But the Federalists, and subsequent historians, have missed the point. Jefferson had advocated using force against the Barbary powers since 1785, but he perceived that war was a limited instrument, one that must be completely under the control of civilian authorities. Jefferson, more perhaps than any of his contemporaries, feared the consequences of excessive power. He had to fight Tripoli without invoking the war powers, which he thought would lead inexorably to an expanded government and the potential for executive tyranny. William Plumer, the New Hampshire Federalist, called on Jefferson as the Senate considered the Tripolitan treaty. Plumer told Jefferson that the U.S. government seemed more suited to domestic than international affairs. "Your observation is perfectly correct," Jefferson told him. "Our constitution is a peace establishment -- It is not calculated for war. War would endanger its existence." In the war against Tripoli, Jefferson kept the military strictly subservient to civil power and had used the Mediterranean fund to ensure that those who benefited from the war would also pay for it. But Jefferson also knew that the benefits of this war would extend far beyond safer commerce in the Mediterranean. By proving themselves able to use power without abusing it, or without being absorbed into it, the Americans had proved themselves, as John Paul Jones had written twenty years earlier, a people who deserved to be free.

Twenty years earlier, visitors from North Africa had roused fear and suspicion. Now, in 1805, such visitors were harmless objects of curiosity. Seven Tripolitan prisoners of war, captured at sea, were brought to New York on the *John Adams* in March 1805. Their arrival was a boon to the local theaters, which competed for the Tripolitans' attendance. Though New York audiences had often seen "the personation of Turks and three-tailed Bashaws," this was the first appearance of "your real *bona fide* imported Turks" on any American stage. The seven Tripolitans drew such large crowds that one theater ran a benefit night for them at the end of March, and advertised that on April 5 "THE TURKS WILL VISIT THE THEATER FOR POSITIVELY THE LAST TIME." By contrast, twenty years earlier, three Jews had been sent out of Virginia for fear that they might be Algerian spies. Now, seven Tripolitan sailors caught after battle with an American ship, amused the public and boosted theater attendance.

The contrast was even more striking in Richmond, Virginia. Doctor William Foushee, who had interviewed the Moroccan strangers in 1785, presided over a dinner for William Bainbridge and other returning captives in 1805. Perhaps Foushee remembered the dark winter days of 1785, when Patrick Henry had called on him to investigate the mysterious North Africans whose arrival so shook the commonwealth. What a contrast from those days of fear and uncertainty were these days of the nineteenth century! In 1785 there was no national government to speak of; the United States had title to land up to the Mississippi, but had to contest nearly every inch of it with Britain, France, Spain, and the fearsome indigenous people; and Americans were held captive in Algiers. Now, in 1805, the United States controlled the Mississippi and most of its headwaters; France had abandoned the New World; a benevolent federal government was pacifying the Indians; and Americans had returned in triumph from the Mediterranean, having humbled the ancient enemies of Christian civilization, asserting their role as Americans in defending freedom. The victory over Tripoli, which Foushee celebrated in 1805, had made the Americans equal of any other people, not because of military power, but because that power was guided by a spirit of justice, and its goal was not conquest but freedom. The Americans, statesmen and sailors, leaders and common folk, were different from "the plundering vassals of the tyrannical Bashaw," as one poet had described the

Tripolitans, and the European nations that countenanced the Bashaw's plunder and tyranny. Foushee may have reflected on the changes twenty years had brought as he presided over this celebratory dinner. The Americans were not only people to respect, people who, as John Paul Jones had said, deserved to be free; they had become people to emulate. As one celebrant at the Richmond dinner proclaimed, the Barbary states would not disgrace the civilized world if the cabinets of Europe were inspired by "an American spirit."

Mathematics and Astronomy

(W. Montgomery Watt: *The Influence of Islam of Medieval Europe* Edinburgh: University Press, 1972. pp.33-35, 54-5.. Permission pending)

The subjects of the first Greek books to be translated were those of immediate practical interest to the Arabs, notably medicine and astronomy. Astronomy was a practical subject mainly because of the widespread belief in astrology, but also in part because it was needed in order to know the direction of Mecca which Muslims were required to face in their prayers. Mathematics also was of practical use, and it was in fact in the sphere of mathematics that the first advances were made by the Arabs.

The first important name in both mathematics and astronomy is that of al-Khwarizmi, known to the Latin scholars as Algorismus or Alghoarismus; from his name is derived the technical term 'algorism'. He worked in the *Bayt al-hikma* during the caliphate of al-Ma'mun, and died some time after 846. Al-Khwarizmi produced for al-Ma'mun an abridged form of some Indian astronomical tables which are known as the *Sindhind* (corresponding to the Sanskrit *Siddhänta*), and which has been translated into Arabic for the caliph al-Mansur (*regnabat* 754-75). He was also the author of a description of the inhabited part of the earth, based on the *Geography* of Ptolemy. More influential, however, were his mathematical works. One may be reckoned the foundation of algebra -- and indeed the word 'algebra' is derived from its title -- while another is, apart from Indian writings, the first work on arithmetic using our present decimal notation, that is, the numerals which we know as Arabic.

These are some obscurities about the origin of the ten signs for the numerals. Arabic writers refer to them as 'Indian', but no references have been found in any Arab mathematician to an Indian author or work. This is a curious fact and has led some scholars to allege that the Arabs borrowed from the Byzantines one of the two forms in which the ten signs are found. Most scholars, however, now accept the view that the ten numerals are of Indian origin. The Greeks had a sexagesimal system for fractions and other purposes, and this continued to be used by Arab astronomers. Most persons using arithmetic, however, came to realize the advantages of the Indian system with its ten signs whose value is indicated by their position. Al-Khwarizmi and his successors worked out methods for performing arithmetically various complex mathematical operations such as finding the square root of a number. Many operations known to the Greeks were dealt with in this way. The beginning of decimal fractions is traced to a work written about 950 by a man called al-Uqlidisi, 'the Euclidean'. Among other mathematicians whose work was translated into Latin were an-Nayrizi or Anaritius (d.c.922) and the justly famous Ibn al-Haytham or Alhazen (d.1039). The latter has assimilated all the work of Greek and previous Arab mathematicians and physicists, and then went on to solve further problems. Over fifty of his books and treatises have survived. The best known is *kitab al-manatir*, which was translated into Latin as *Opticae thesaurus*. In this, among many other matters, he opposes the theory of Euclid and Ptolemy that visual rays travel from the eye to the object, and maintains instead that light travels from the object to the eye. He also discussed what is still known as 'Alhazen's problem' and gave a solution in which he solved an equation of the fourth degree. He conducted numerous experiments, and as a result of the refraction of the light in passing through a transparent medium

was able to give a calculation for the height of the earth's atmosphere, and almost discovered the principle of the magnifying lens.

Astronomy has been practiced in Iraq for a century or more before the Arab conquest, being based partly on Greek astronomy and notably the work of Ptolemy, and partly on Indian astronomy. When the Arabs became interested in astronomy, translations were made from Sanskrit and Pahlavi as well as from Greek and Syriac. The basic theoretical text was the *Almagest* (Arabic *al-majisti*), which is the *Megale Syntaxis* of Ptolemy. The translation, probably first made at the end of the eighth century, was several times revised, and there were many commentaries and introductions to it. Following Ptolemy the Arab astronomers believed in a fixed earth round which eight spheres revolved, carrying the sun, the moon, the five planets and the fixed stars. In order to make this system tally with the observed phenomena a complex system of epicycles and other mathematical devices was required. As time went on the Arabs were aware of the weaknesses of Ptolemaic system and were critical of it, but they produced no satisfactory alternative, though Ibn-ash-Shadir of Damascus (fl.1350) greatly simplified the mathematics.

Much of the work of the astronomers was not concerned with theory, but centered in the *zij* or set of astronomical tables. There were many such sets of tables, and they came from Indian, Persian and Greek sources. the discrepancies between the different tables stimulated the Arabs to more accurate observations. Extremely accurate tables were produced by al-Abttani or Albategnius about 900. His exact observations of eclipses were used for comparative purposes as late as 1749.

Moorish Spain played its full part in mathematical and astronomical studies, and European scholars were thus able to come into contact with living disciplines. The earliest in this field was Maslama al-Majriti (that is, from Madrid) who lived mostly in Cordova and died about 1007. In the first half of the eleventh century there were two noted mathematician-astronomers, Ibn-as-Samh and Ibn-as-Saffar, and an astrologer, Ibn-Abir-rijal or Abenragle. After that there are no distinguished names until the middle and end of the twelfth century when two important astronomers followed one another at Seville, Jabir ibn-Aflah or Geber (but distinct from the alchemist Geber) and al-Bitruji or Alpetragius. The former is specially noted for his work in spherical trigonometry, a discipline in which the Arabs in general made great advances. The latter, in line with the revived Aristotelianism of the period, criticized some of the theoretical conceptions of Ptolemy. After this there was little opportunity for such work in Spain, but something of the tradition continued in North Africa. Long before this, however, in the early twelfth century a Jewish mathematician in Barcelona, Abraham bar-Hiyya ha-Nasi, often known as Savasorda, had begun translating Arabic scientific works into Hebrew and writing original treatises in that language. These Hebrew works played an important part in the transmission to Europe of the Arabic scientific heritage.

The significance of the Crusades for Europe

The student of Islam who turns to look at medieval Europe is struck above all by two things. One is the way in which a distorted image of Islam took shape in Europe between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, and has to some extent continued to dominate European thinking ever since; this point will be considered more fully in the last lecture. The other matter is the extraordinary way in which the Crusading idea gripped the hearts and minds of western Europeans. It is all the more amazing when one considers how quixotic and foolhardy the whole series of enterprises was. There was no realization of the military strength of the lands of the Levant, and little of the physical conditions under which men would be fighting. How could the Crusading leaders, with the existing means of transport, have contemplated moving their armies over the enormous distances involved? Let us then look at various factors which may help to explain the vigour of the Crusading movement.

From what has already been said about the growth of the idea of Crusade it is clear that in

this idea as it developed after 1095 various strands of religious idealism were woven together. Certain secular tendencies and forces, however, also found a focus in the Crusading aim of recovering the holy places by military means. Many parts of western Europe had been experiencing greater material prosperity. Trade was flourishing and wealth increasing. There was a feeling of buoyancy and self-confidence. in some sections of society, however, life had become difficult. There were many younger sons of the nobility, for example, for whom the family estates could not now provide the standard of living which they had come to expect. For this reason and others much of the energy of the upper classes was spent in fighting one another. The Popes looked for a greater measure of harmony and peace in Catholic lands, and saw that this might be attained if military efforts were directed against the infidel. By the end of the eleventh century, too, the experiences of the Norman knights in southern Italy had shown that the knight in armor had great military potentialities, since a few resolute knights acting together could control vast regions, and in the process win new estates for themselves.

All this, however, does not explain why the Crusade should come to be directed chiefly to Jerusalem and against Muslims, and why more effort was not devoted, for example, to expansion into north-eastern Europe. On the religious side there was the idea of pilgrimage, and for Christians Jerusalem was the goal of pilgrimage *par excellence*. On the secular side the commercial ambitions of several Italian cities may have played a part. The paramount fact, however, was that for centuries Islam had been the great enemy, controlling the Mediterranean from Spain to Syria, and extending its sway eastwards and southwards apparently without limit. Even after 1100 western Europeans still thought that the Muslims occupied more than half the world. Many were also aware of the cultural superiority of the Arabs; and those who had met Arabs in Spain, Sicily or elsewhere had witnessed their serene and confident belief in the superiority of their religion. Some Christians may even have felt -- in accordance with one aspect of Old Testament teaching -- that the material prosperity of the Arabs was a sign of divine favor. In short, the attitude of western Europeans towards Arab Muslims was essentially one which combined deep fear with no small degree of admiration.

Tamburlaine The Great

(Christopher Marlowe: *Tamburlaine The Great*, edited by J.S. Cunningham, Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, The Johns Hopkins University Press,

...Over the years, it has proved relatively easy to find accounts of Tamburlaine in Western European languages, particularly in the middle and late sixteenth century, but rather more difficult to distinguish those which Marlowe almost certainly did use from those which he probably did not. The most thorough recent survey is that by H.D. Purcell. Three things now seem quite clear. First, that a prototype Tamburlaine narrative was thoroughly established in Europe by the time a century or so had elapsed following Timur Khan's dramatic defeat of Bayezid I at Angora in 1402. Second, that this material was developed in Part One of *Tamburlaine* from two main sources -- one in Latin by Petrus Perondinus (Pietro Perondino), and one in English by George Whetstone. Third, that a series of minor sources was also used in Marlowe's writing of the sequel. Whetstone was translating, and re-ordering, material from Claude Gruget's *Diverses Leçons* (1552), itself a version of the Spanish historian Pedro Mexia's *Silva de varia lecion* (1540). Perondinus's account itself owes to Mexia, but differs from him, and therefore from Whetstone, in some ways that are significant for readers of *Tamburlaine*. It has been convincingly demonstrated that it was Whetstone's version of Mexia that Marlowe used, rather than that of Thomas Fortescue (*The Foreste*, 1571). Herford and Wagner in 1883 were working from Fortescue, not Whetstone, but their conclusion stands today, that Perondinus and (in translation) Mexia are the major sources of Marlowe's play.

The Tamburlaine narrative, simple in outline

and legendary in scope, owed much to the work of Italian historians such as Baptista Fulgosius (Battista Fregoso), whose work Mexia, and after him Whetstone, acknowledge. This prototype narrative has been shown to have exercised a powerful influence on Machiavelli -- which is to say, that it engaged thoroughly with currents of new thinking about history. For Marlowe, it called up an astonishing range of associations with historical and mythical figures. It focused questions to do with destiny and human will, providence and history, on the career of a colossal figure which impinged on Elizabethan thought and sensibility at many levels.

To read George Whetstone's version of Mexia in *The English Myrror,* not long after its publication in 1586, was to encounter a prodigious military figure, hailed as the equal of 'the illustrous Captaines *Romaines,* and *Grecians'* -- among whom the freshest in Marlowe's mind was perhaps Lucan's Caesar, the 'diabolical "superman"' to whom Tamburlaine alludes in Part One. Not the lame Timur, one of the line of Tartar Khans, but 'a pure appearance out of nothing', barely impeded by his obscure birth: *'Tamberlaine* being a poore labourer, or in the best degree a meane souldiour, descended from the *Parsians:* notwithstanding the povertye of his parents: even from his infancy he had a reaching & an imaginative minde, the strength and comelinesse of his body, aunswered the hautines of his hart'. Motivated simply by 'a ruling desire' -- in Marlowe's words 'He dares so doubtlessly resolve of rule' (*One* II.vi.13) -- Mexia's Tamburlaine is totally generous to subordinates and ruthless to enemies. He attains the throne of Persia by astute political opportunism, taking sides with the king's brother in a successful struggle for power, then deposing the new king by turning the people against him. This initiates a career of astounding conquest -- *'Siria, Armenia, Babylon, Mesopotamia, Scitia, Asia, Albania,* and other provinces, with many goodly and invincible Cities'. In Bajazeth, Mexia's Tamburlaine confronts a leader of equal power, courage, and military brilliance, and is hard put to defeat him. The captured Bajazeth is used as a mounting-block, imprisoned in an iron cage, and fed 'as a dog' with fragments from Tamburlaines's table. Tamburlaine goes on to invade Egypt, taking Damascus after a protracted siege, and he defeats the Soldan of Egypt and the King of Arabia. In Whetstone's version, the account of the siege of Damascus precedes a description of 'Tamburlaine's order at assaults' -- the succession of white, red, and black tents over three successive days of siege. At one siege of 'a strong city', as Whetstone has it, the inhabitants plead for mercy 'with their wives & children cloathed all in white, having Olive branches in their handes'. The people are slaughtered, and Tamburlaine is challenged by a merchant in his camp: 'Whom *Tamberlaine* (with a countenance fiered with fury) answered: thou supposest that I am a man, but thou art deceived, for I am no other than the ire of God, and the destruction of the world'. Marlowe does not appropriate this incident, but the conception of Tamburlaine which it embodies is crucial. The narrative rather abruptly concludes, after this episode: 'In the ende this great personage, without disgrace of fortune, after sundry great victories, by the course of nature died, & left behind him two sons, every way far unlike their father'. whetstone then resumes his doggedly moralistic theme: the envious dissension of Tamburlaine's sons brings about the loss of his empire.

Whetstone's version of the Tamburlaine narrative afforded Marlowe a plain, clear version of these incidents, distributed rather repetitiously into three chapters of *The English Myrror,* but with marginal glosses that catch the eye. Differences of detail and emphasis emerge in Marlowe's play. The overthrow of Cosroe for the crown of Persia is not accomplished by politic plotting but by exuberant open defiance -- Marlowe perhaps taking up a hint from Whetstone's mention of the 'meriment' with which Tamburlaine's youthful companions chose him as their leader. Bajazeth is in Marlowe a formidable opponent, but not Whetstone's figure of 'worthinesse'. His defeat draws from Whetstone firstly the comment 'such was Gods will'. This sentiment Marlowe's Tamburlaine appropriates

for his assertive purposes, seeing himself here as a liberator of Christians and as

> the Scourge and wrath of God, The only fear and terror of the world. (*One* III.iii.44-5)

Then Whetstone offers a brooding reflection which perhaps influences Zenocrate's lines about the fickleness of earthly Fortune (*One* V.i.344 ff.): 'Bajasei, that in the morning was the mightiest Emperor on the earth, at night, and the residue of his life, was driven to feede among the dogs, and which might most grieve him, he was thus abased, by one that in the beginning was but a poore sheepheard'. In sum, Marlowe seizes elements of a broad conception of Tamburlaine, and brings them into emphatic relation or into sharp contrast. Both ruthless and generous; 'wise, liberal', but 'worthy the name of vengeance': Marlowe tightens the tensions between the rival aspects of Tamburlaine, in contrast with Whetstone's relatively mild 'although...yet': 'And in truth *Tamberlain* although he was endued with many excellencies & virtues: yet it seemed by his cruelty, that God raysed him to chasten the kings & proud people of the earth'.

Perondinus, on the other hand, also retelling the main events in the received Tamburlaine narrative, offers 'a clear and consistent picture of the central figure': 'From the pages of Perondinus's packed and pregnant Latin, the figure of Tamburlaine emerges insatiable, irresistible, ruthless, destructive, but instinct with power'. Here is a figure of Destiny, the child of Fortune, elevated by Her from obscurity to accomplish worldwide devastation and the overthrow of all his enemies: 'ex adverso ab illa ipsa rerum humanarum domina fortuna'. Like the Mexia-Whetstone Tamburlaine, he is physically powerful and well-proportioned -- Timur himself was lame -- and Perondinus dwells on the fierceness and brooding intensity which in Marlowe is emphasised as the other face of the chivalric hero. Perondinus's Tamburlaine restrains his men from plunder, but he appropriates everything he conquers, and insatiably seeks people to fight as if that were an exercise of virtue, enslaving the free. He is a figure to excite boundless 'admiration': 'what may seem extraordinary is that this fierce veteran of wars sought indefatigably, as though it were a wonderful work of virtue, for people he might wage war on, or for people to harry constantly with tempestuous raids, or for people enjoying complete freedom, so that he could impose on them a savage yoke'. Tamburlaine's assertion, fiery-eyed, that he is the wrath of God, rings with greater resonance in the context of this dynamic and barbaric self-sufficiency, heightening the impact of the concept itself: 'Memento, ait, me Dei maximis iram esse'.

Perondinus gives a dramatic elaboration to Bajazeth's humiliation, exploring his condition with vivid imaginative sympathy. In his cage, the degraded Bajazeth contemplates the faithlessness of Fortune: 'As for the rest of the time, he spent it in an iron cage, shut up like a beast, affording a wondrous and lamentable example of the fickleness of fortune in human affairs'. Through this, and the obscene treatment of his wife, Bajazeth suffers extremes of anger and grief. This Bajazeth, unlike Whetstone's, is a figure dramatised from inside. He is joined in humiliation by his wife and (again unlike Whetstone's) driven to commit suicide beating out his brains on his cage, after praying for death, torn with anger, shame, and grief. A victim of fate or fortune, he had allowed Tamburlaine, the shepherd, to displace him.

Perondinus has also been shown to provide Marlowe with hints (more detailed than in Mexia) from which minor characters could be developed: Theridamas, Cosroe, Mycetes, the Soldan of Egypt, Calyphas. The *Vita* is a piece of biography in its own right, divided into clearly distinct subjects and episodes -- for instance, Tamburlaine's physique and character, his defeat of Bajazeth, his death and the portents which announced it. This distinctness would encourage Marlowe in the vigorous development of Tamburlaine as a phenomenon of awesome scale and integrity. Perondinus is, by implication, putting Marlowe in touch with Italian humanistic writing more vividly than Whetstone does. Eric

Voegelin has dwelt on the *Vita Tamerlanis* as a distinct genre, reflecting the preoccupation of fifteenth-century Italian historians with 'the new phenomenon of power on the world scale'. This biographical tradition shows Timur as a meteoric figure, embodying sheer will, 'symbolizing the naked fanaticism of expanding power, the lust and horror of destruction, the blindness of a fate which crushes one existence in its march and thereby perhaps saves another one'. He becomes, in this light, a symbol of virtú, favoured by Fortune, and constituting a challenge to Christian interpretations of history: 'The virtú of the conquering prince became the source of order; and since the Christian, transcendental order of existence had become a dead letter for the Italian thinkers of the fifteenth-century, the *virtú ordinata* of the prince, the only ordering force experienced as real, acquired human-divine, heroic proportions'.

Voegelin's account of the influence of Machiavelli on the Tamburlaine *Vita* as a genre might lead us to find a significant, if indirect, relationship between the Italian thinker and Marlowe. This is at its clearest in Machiavelli's *Vita di Castruccio Castracani* (1520), 'a fantasy based very loosely upon the career of a real military dictator who flourished in fourteenth-century Lucca'. Castruccio emerges as a charismatic, physically imposing figure, 'gracious to his friends, to his enemies terrible.' His rise to eminence is highlighted by the fact of his humble birth. Such men, Machiavelli reflects, have often 'made themselves out sons of Jove or of some other god'. He is assisted, and eventually killed, by Fortune. Unlike Marlowe's Tamburlaine, he prefers to win by fraud, not force; but an avid thirst for experience and a hubristic arrogance relate the two tyrants emphatically: 'He used to say that men ought to try everything, not to be afraid of everything; and that God is a lover of strong men, because we see that he always punished the powerless by means of the powerful. Equally easy to match with Marlowe's play is Machiavelli's account of ambition in the *Discourses on Titus Livius:* 'nature has created men so that they desire everything, but are unable to attain it'. And *The Prince*, of course, affords numerous suggestive parallels: the opportunistic overthrow of decadent *regimes;* the necessity of maintaining a strong political base; the virtue of war as a means of attaining power. Above all, there is the multiform insistence on Fortune and virtù. As in Marlowe's play, Fortune may be seen as 'sheer chance', or as 'an elemental force', or as 'susceptible to persuasion or to human influence', or as 'a pagan goddess who ruthlessly wields her power, and deliberately makes or breaks men in order to demonstrate her supremacy'.

Clearly, Machiavelli could have exerted first-hand influence on Marlowe at many points, but no evidence has yet been found to show that Marlowe had such direct contact with his work. Machiavelli himself, to complicate matters, drew extensively on further sources, especially in Latin. It is also clear that Marlowe's Tamburlaine is in some respects very different from the image of the politically successful Prince. He is not, predominantly, a shrewdly prudent and calculating intriguer, maintaining a mask of 'mercy, faith, integrity, humanity, and religion' but ready to break faith when it is in his own interest to do so. His disloyalty to Cosroe, for instance, is open and exuberant, though the Governor of Damascus is indeed treated with cynical callousness. Something is lost if we see *Tamburlaine* as 'a serious exposition of Machiavelli's actual philosophy', and still more if we take it that Machiavelli's 'doctrine' is Marlowe's own (even if allowing that Part Two shows disenchantment with it.) The play's central figure alone asserts many different things, and is a volatile compound of many elements, some of them remote from the portrait found in Perondinus or in Whetstone. Marlowe's Tamburlaine, in part a chivalric hero, can display an aspiration which purifies energies, and exalted religious awareness, and he can speak a poetry of tender love and sympathetic human feeling. The mythical figure of the sources activates, perhaps with assistance from Machiavelli's own broad reflections on history, a wide-ranging series of allusions to the giants of both history and myth -- Jove, Dis, Atlas, Hercules, Achilles, Lucan's

Caesar, Xerxes, Darius. And the play takes on the bold dimensions of a continually shifting encounter between history as the hand of Providence and as the work of the individual will, between aspiration as *hubris* and as a natural drive, between man as mortal and as destined for imagined immortality. The play dramatises these oppositions vividly, without fully resolving them: always within the ambience of its central figure, and conveying insistently a sense of man as himself the creator of his own world -- a humanistic response to a humanistic tradition, but not reducible to creed or doctrine. Marlowe will in later plays become closely concerned with Machiavellian political craft; in *Tamburlaine* he is, for the most part, responding (however indirectly) to Machiavelli as a source of vigorous ideology: 'If a man has both virtú and Fortune with him he will achieve *la gloria*'.

Part Two promptly effects a transition to a frame of action more directly (and notoriously) associated with Machiavelli -- that of 'necessary policy', here linked with the 'scourge of God' theme in that the Christian Sigismond is persuaded to scourge the Turks at the cost of breaking an oath of truce. Marlowe had met with a Christian Sigismond overthrown by Bajazeth in Whetstone, but for this episode he turned to an account of the battle of Varna, fought some forty years after Timur's death.

Samarkand

(Amin Maalouf: *Samarkand*, translated by Russell Harris , Quartet Books, 1992, pp.IX, 5-9,12-14, 28-30, 231-235, 304-309, permission pending).

He had arrived in Samarkand after a journey of three weeks and, without taking the least rest, had decided to follow closely the advice of voyagers of times long past. Go up, they had suggested, onto the terrace of Kuhandiz. Take a good look around and you will see only water and greenery, beds in flower, cyprus trees pruned by the cleverest gardeners to look like bulls, elephants, sturdy camels or fighting panthers which appear about to leap. Indeed, even inside the wall, from the gate of the Monastery, to the West and up to the China Gate, Omar had never seen such dense orchards and sparkling brooks. Then, here and there, a brick minaret shot up with a dome chiseled by shadow, the whiteness of a belvedere wall, and, at the edge of a lake which brooded beneath its weeping willows, a naked swimmer spreading out her hair to the burning wind.

Is it not this vision of paradise that the anonymous painter wanted to evoke, when, much later, he attempted to illustrate the manuscript of the *Rubaiyaat*? Is it not this which Omar had in mind as he was being led away towards the quarter of Asfizar where Abu Taher, chief *qadi* of Samarkand, lived? He was repeating to himself, over and over, "I will not hate this city. Even if my swimming girl is just a mirage. Even if the reality should be cold and ugly. Even if this cool night should be my last."

When he was alone with Omar, the only witnesses being his own confidants, Abu Taher [qadi of Samarkand] pronounced a mysterious phrase of welcome, "It is an honor to receive the famous Omar Khayyam of Nishapur."

He revealed not the slightest hint of emotion. He was neither sarcastic nor warm. His tone was neutral, his voice flat. He was wearing a tulip-shaped turban, had bushy eyebrows and a grey beard without mustache, and was giving Khayyam a long piercing gaze.

The welcome was the more puzzling since for an hour Omar had been standing there in tatters, for all to see and laugh at.

After several skillfully calculated moments of silence, Abu Taher added, "Omar, you are not unknown in Samarkand. In spite of your tender years, your knowledge has already become legendary, and your talents are talked about in the schools. Is it not true that in Isfahan you read seven times a weighty work by Ibn Sina, and that upon your return to Nishapur you reproduced it verbatim from memory?"

Khayyam was flattered that this authentic exploit was known in Transoxiana, but his worries had not yet been quelled. The reference to Avicenna from the mouth of a *qadi* of the Shafi rite was not reassuring, and besides, he had not yet been invited to sit down. Abu Taher continued, "It is not just your exploits which are

passed from mouth to mouth, but some very cautious quatrains have been attributed to you."

The sentence was dispassionate. He was not accusing but he was hardly acquitting him -- rather he was only questioning him indirectly. Omar ventured to break the silence. "The *rubai* which Scar-Face quoted was not one of mine."

The *qadi* dismissed the protest with a gesture of impatience, and for the first time his voice took on a severe tone. "It matters little whether you have written this or that verse. I have had reports of verses of such profanity that I would feel as guilty quoting them as the man who spread them about. I am not trying to inflict any punishment upon you. These accusations of alchemy cannot just go in one ear and out of the other. We are alone. We are two men of erudition and I simply wish to know the truth."

Omar was not at all reassured. He sensed a trap and hesitated to reply. He could see himself being handed over to the executioner for maiming, emasculation or crucifixion. Abu Taher raised his voice and almost shouted, "Omar, son of Ibrahim, tent-maker from Nishapur, can you not recognize a friend?"

The tone of sincerity in this phrase stunned Khayyam. "Recognize a friend?" He gave serious thought to the subject, contemplated the *qadi's* face, noted the way he was grinning and how his beared quivered. Slowly he let himself be won over. His features loosened and relaxed. He disengaged himself from his guards who, upon a sign from the *qadi*, stopped restraining him. Then he sat down without having been invited. The *qadi* smiled in a friendly manner but took up his questioning without respite. "Are you the infidel some people claim you to be?"

It was more than a question. It was a cry of distress that Omar did not overlook. "I despise the zeal of the devout, but I have never said that the One was two."

"Have you ever thought so?"

"Never, as God is my witness."

"As far as I am concerned that suffices, and I believe it will for the Creator also. But not for the masses. They watch your words, your smallest gestures -- mine too, as well as those of princes. You have been heard to say, "I sometimes go to mosques where the shade is good for a snooze."

"Only a man at peace with his Creator could find sleep in a place of worship."

In spite of the *qadi's* doubting scowl. Omar became impassioned and continued, "I am not one of those for whom faith is simply fear of judgement. How do I pray? I study a rose, I count the stars, I marvel at the beauty of creation and how perfectly ordered it is, at man, the most beautiful work of the Creator, his brain thirsting for knowledge, his heart for love, and his senses, all his senses alert or gratified."

The *qadi* stood up with a thoughtful look in his eyes and went over to sit next to Khayyam, placing a paternal hand on his shoulder. The guards exchanged dumbfounded glances.

"Listen, my young friend. The Almighty has granted you the most valuable things that a son of Adam can have -- intelligence, eloquence, health, beauty, the desire for knowledge and a lust for life, the admiration of men and, I suspect, the sighs of women. I hope that He has not deprived you of the wisdom of silence, without which all of the foregoing can neither be appreciated nor preserved."

"Do I have to wait until I am an old man in order to express what I think?"

"Before you can express everything you think, your children's grandchildren will be old. We live in the age of the secret and of fear. You must have two faces. Show one to the crowd, and keep the other for yourself and your Creator. If you want to keep your eyes, your ears and your tongue, forget that you have them."

The *qadi* suddenly fell silent, but not to let Omar speak, rather to give greater effect to his admonition. Omar kept his gaze down and waited for the *qadi* to pluck more thoughts from his head.

Abu Taher, however, took a deep breath and gave a crisp order to his men to leave. As soon as they had shut the door behind them, he made his way towards a corner of the *diwan*, lifted up a piece of tapestry, and opened a damask box. He took out a book which he offered to Omar with a formality softened by a paternal smile.

Now that book was the very one which I,

Benjamin O. Lesage, would one day hold in my own hands. I suppose it felt just the same with its rough, thick leather with markings which looked like a peacock-tail and the edges of its pages irregular and frayed. When Khayyam opened it on that unforgettable summer night, he could see only two hundred and fifty six blank pages which were not yet covered with poems, pictures, margin commentaries or illuminations.

To disguise his emotions, Abu Taher spoke with the tones of a salesman.

"Its made of Chinese *haghez*, the best paper ever produced by the workshops of Samarkand. A Jew from the Maturid district made it to order according to an ancient recipe. It is made entirely from mulberry. Feel it. It has the same qualities as silk."

He cleared his throat before going on.

"I had a brother, ten years older than I. He died when he was as old as you. He had been banished to Balkh for having written a poem which displeased the ruler of the time. He was accused of fomenting heresy. I don't know if that was true, but I resent my brother for having wasted his life on a poem, a miserable poem hardly longer than a *rubai*."

His voice shook, and he went on breathlessly.

"Keep this book. Whenever a verse takes shape in your mind, or is on the tip of your tongue, just hold it back. Write it down on these sheets which will stay hidden, and as you write, think of Abu Taher.'

Did the *qadi* know that with that gesture and those words he was giving birth to one of the best-kept secrets in the history of literature, and that the world would have to wait eight centuries to discover the sublime poetry of Omar Khayyam, for the *Rubaiyaat* to be revered as one of the most original works of all time even before the strange fate of the Samarkand manuscript was known?

[Sometime later, after Abu Taher and Omar Khayyam had become colleagues and boon companions]

They had arrived at the gateway of his residence. He invited Khayyam to continue their conversation around a table laden with food.

"I have thought up a project for you, a book project. Let us forget your *Rubaiyaat* for a moment. As far as I am concerned they are just the inevitable whims of genius. The real domains in which you excel are medicine, astrology, mathematics, physics and metaphysics. Am I mistaken when I say that since Ibn Sira's death there is none who knows them better than you?

Khayyam said nothing. Abu Taher continued:

"It is in those areas of knowledge that I expect you to write the definitive book, and I want you to dedicate that book to me."

"I don't think that there can be a definitive book in those disciplines, and that is exactly why I have been content to read and to learn without writing anything myself."

"Explain yourself!"

"Let us consider the Ancients -- the Greeks, the Indians and the Muslims who have come before me. They wrote abundantly in all these disciplines. If I repeat what they have said, then my work is redundant; if I contradict them, as I am constantly tempted, others will come after me to contradict me. What will there remain tomorrow of the writings of the intellectuals? Only the bad that they have said about those who came before them. People will remember what they have destroyed of others' theories, but the theories they construct themselves will inevitably be destroyed and even ridiculed by those who come after. That is the law of science. Poetry does not have a similar law. It never negates what has come before it and is never negated by what follows. Poetry lives in complete calm through the centuries. That is why I wrote my *Rubaiyaat*. Do you know what fascinates me about science? It is that I have found the supreme poetry: the intoxicating giddiness of numbers in mathematics and the mysterious murmur of the universe in astronomy. But, by your leave, please do not speak to me of Truth."

He was silent for a moment and then continued:

"It happened that I was taking a walk round about Samarkand and I saw ruins with inscriptions that people could no longer decipher, and I wondered, "What is left of the city which used to exist here?" Let us not speak about people, for

they are the most ephemeral of creatures, but what is left of their civilization? What kingdom, science, law and truth existed here? Nothing, I searched around those ruins in vain and all I found was a face engraved on a potsherd and a fragment of a frieze. That is what my poems will be in a thousand years -- shards, fragments, the detritus of a world buried for all eternity. What remains of a city is the detached gaze with which a half-drunk poet looked at it."

Arab Noise and Ramadan Nights: Rai, Rap and Franco-Maghrebi Identities

("Arab Noise and Ramadan Nights: Rai, Rap and Franco-Maghrebi Identities," Joan Gross, David McMurray, Ted Swedenburg. *Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity.* Duke University Press, pp.1-7)

- ***Algerian Rai: From Country to Pop, Bordello to Patrimoine National***

Modern rai emerged during the 1920s, when rural migrants brought their native musical styles into the growing urban centers of north-western Algeria, particularly the port town of Oran (Wahran in Arabic), Algeria's second-largest city. In the new urban settings, rai developed as a hybrid blend of rural and cabaret musical genres, played by and for distillery workers, peasants dispossessed by European settlers, shepherds, prostitutes and other members of the poor classes. Oran's permissive atmosphere proved congenial for rai artists, who found spaces to perform in its extensive network of nightclubs, taverns, and brothels, as well as in more "respectable" settings like wedding celebrations and festivals. Women singers were prominent from the genre's beginnings; and unlike other Algerian musical genres, rai performances were associated with dancing, often in mixed-gender settings.

Due to its location (close to Morocco and Spain) and its port economy, Oran was permeated by multifarious cultural influences, which permitted rai musicians to absorb an array of musical styles; flamenco from Spain, *gnawa* (a musical genre performed by Sufis of West African origin) from nearby Morocco, French cabaret, the sounds of Berber Kabylia, the rapid rhythms of Arab nomads. Rai artists sang in Orani (*wahrani*), an Arabic dialect rich with French and Spanish borrowings and liberally seasoned with Berber.

As early as the 1930s, rai musicians were reportedly being harassed by the colonial police for singing about social issues of concern to Algeria's indigenous inhabitants, like typhus, imprisonment, poverty, and colonial oppression. Likewise, during the independence struggle, rai artists composed songs that expressed nationalist sentiment. But throughout the period, rai's main themes were wine, love and the problems and pleasures of life on the margins. One of the most renowned, and bawdy, rai singers was Cheikha Rimitti.

After Algeria won national independence in 1962, a state-sponsored Islamic reformist chill descended over all manifestations of popular culture, which lasted throughout the sixties and seventies. In the wake of official puritanism, drastic restrictions were imposed on public performances by women singers. But the genre flourished on the fringes, at sex-segregated events like wedding parties and in the demimonde. Meanwhile adolescent boys with high-pitched voices replaced female rai vocalists in the public arena. At the same time, musicians were gradually supplementing and even replacing the *gasba* (reed flute), *rbaba* (single-stringed instrument played with a bow), the *gellal* and *derbouka* (Maghrebi drums)--the instruments that had typified the genre for decades--with the more "modern"-sounding *'ud* (Oriental lute), violin and accordion.

In 1979, rai reemerged from the shadows, following President Chadhli Benjedid's loosening of social and economic restraints. By now, rai artists had incorporated more musical influences--from the pop musics of Egypt, India, the Americas, Europe and sub-Saharan Africa-- and were performing and recording with trumpets and electric guitars, synthesizers and drum machines. A new sound known as "pop rai" was inaugurated, whose stars were a generation of young singers known as *chebs* (young men) and *chabas* (young women). In its "pop" incarnation, rai shed its regional status, and massive cassette sales made it

the *national* music for Algerian youth. Its popularity derived from its lively, contemporary sound and its raciness. Pop rai lyrics, just like "traditional" rai, dealt frankly and openly with subjects like sex and alcohol while challenging both official puritanism and patriarchal authority within the family. The "modernity" of its musical texture and the insubordinate spirit of its messages earned pop rai a substantial audience among a generation of disaffected and frequently unemployed youth, chafing at "traditional" social constraints and the lack of economic opportunities.

As cassette sales soared, producers tried to boost profits by insisting on more risque lyrics from their artists. The newer "pop" rai star Chaba Zahouania, whose ruggedly sensual voice earned her the sobriquet, the Billie Holiday of Oran, sang: "I'm going with him, Mamma, I'm climbing in next to him," and "Call Malik so he'll bring the beer". In a similar vein, Chaba Fadela spiced up her lyrics: "I want to sleep with him, I want him to open up his shirts."

If racy lyrics spurred sales, they incurred government wrath. The association of rai with dancing, particularly in mixed-gender company, also provoked the hostility of state officials who adhered to orthodox Islamic views that dancing is obscene. But even more importantly, the government felt compelled to suppress an increasingly influential cultural practice that seemed to articulate the sentiments of insubordinate youth claiming new sexual and cultural freedoms--the so-called "rai generation." Police rounded up single women patronizing nightclubs featuring rai, while the government denounced rai as "illiterate" and lacking in "artistic merit," banned it from the state-run airwaves, and prohibited the import of blank cassettes in an attempt to halt distribution.

But in mid-1985 the government abruptly reversed its position. In part, the about-face was due to lobbying by a former liberation army officer turned pop music impresario, Colonel Snoussi, who hoped to profit if rai could be mainstreamed. Another factor in officialdom's shift was the music's growing popularity in France, where the diasporic Arab community provided an expanding market for the music, facilities for production, and a distribution network via the massive to-and-fro movement of immigrants who smuggled cassettes. Pressure was also brought to bear by France's Socialist Minister of Culture Jack Lang, who urged Algerian officials to grant exit visas to rai stars wishing to perform in France. Some sectors of the Algerian nomenklatura, moreover, argued for promoting rai as a counterweight to the growing militant Islamist trend. So the government relaxed its opposition,, rai festivals were duly organized in Oran and Algiers, and the music began to receive radio and television exposure. But at the same time that officialdom brought rai in from the periphery and claimed it as part of the national patrimony, it attempted to tame, contain, and mainstream it. A line sung by several chebs as "we made love in a broken down shack" was diffused on Algerian radio as "we did our military service in a broken down shack". The police tried to prevent audience members from dancing at the first Oran festival in 1985. Under this pressure, the music industry began practicing self-censorship. The same producers who so recently were promoting bawdiness started vigorously cleaning up rai lyrics in order to get their product played on radio and t.v. and to make if palatable to a wider audience. Rachid Baba, the producer of *Rai Rebels* and other acclaimed rai releases for the US market, explained without a hint of irony: "In the beginning, I let a cheb sing the words as he wanted. Now I pay attention. When he sings a fulgarity, I say stop. If he doesn't obey, I cut it during the mixing". and the mainstreaming did succeed in increasing rai's audience, as many who were previously put off by rai's "dirty" reputation now found it pleasantly acceptable.

- ***Authenticity and Hybridity***

We employed the name Franco-Maghrebi here as a convenient descriptive device. Although one occasionally encounters the designation "franco-maghrebin," ethnic groups in France typically do not define themselves in terms of hyphenated identities. Whether one's background

is Italian, Spanish, Jewish or Polish, one is simply expected to be assimilated, to be "French." This requirement has proved difficult for residents and citizens of Third-world origins to live up to. The stipulation is particularly problematic for North Africans, because memories of recent colonial violence in Algeria remain so vivid and because so many French people regard Maghrebis' Islamic heritage as making them inassimilable. Hence, citizens or not, French Arabs tend to be regarded as foreigners.

Many first-generation immigrants would agree, at least in part, with this designation. They will never feel "at home" in France, and dream of returning to their villages of birth as they slowly lay aside savings to build homes there for comfortable retirement. Such *immigres* often retain an image of an Algeria or Morocco that still upholds the revered traditions and Islamic values. There are also those Franco-Maghrebis, both immigrant and citizens, who have reacted to French exclusivism by practicing their own form of isolationism. These are the ethnonationalists, most prominent among whom are the militant Islamists.

But advocates of a separatist "authenticity" are probably a small minority. Most Franco-Maghrebis, particularly the younger generation and especially those with citizenship, dream neither of returning to the motherland nor of establishing an isolated Maghrebi or Islamic enclave in France. Although all have felt the sting of racism, few have contemplated departing France for a "home" in unfamiliar North Africa. Instead, their project is to create a livable zone for themselves within French society. Therefore, most favor some form of integration, but not through total assimilation and the abandonment of "Arabness." They seek to negotiate integration on their own terms, maintaining their right to be different.

In the wake of the upsurge of Arab militancy in the early eighties, Franco-Maghrebis born in France began to be known as "Beurs," a *verlan* term made by reversing the sounds *arabe*. Today many educated French Arabs consider this tag pejorative and lacking in geographic specificity. They prefer the cumbersome appellation, "youths originating from North-African immigration" (*jeunes issues de l'immigration maghrebine*). Others simply refer to themselves as Algerians or as French. But none of these terms seem able to capture the complex positionality of those who feel located somewhere "in-between." As one educated young Franco-Maghrebi told us:

> We don't consider ourselves completely Algerian or completely French.... Our parents are Arabs. We were born in France (and only visited Algeria a few times). So what are we? French? Arab? In the eyes of the French we are Arabs...but when we visit Algeria some people call us emigrants and say we've rejected our culture. We've even had stones thrown at us [in Algeria].

Such ambiguity is expressed in the various avenues of integration which Franco-Maghrebis have chosen to travel, all of which could be considered, in their different ways, paths of hybridity.